



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Freedom of Information / Privacy Acts

Release

SUBJECT: FILE # 62-88217 (1957 THUR 1966)

SAC, Honolulu (62-374)

January 3, 1957

Director, FBI (62-88217)

**SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
HONOLULU HEARINGS**

Reference is made to your letter dated
December 19, 1956.

The invocation of the 5th Amendment by a
witness appearing before a Congressional committee
is by itself insufficient basis for including the
witness in the Security Index.

The invocation of the 5th Amendment by a
security subject is only one of many factors to be
considered when recommending inclusion of the subject's
name in the Security Index.

In the present instance, it is noted that the
19 witnesses resorted to the 5th Amendment when
testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
and you are instructed to carefully review the files on
these 19 individuals to determine if their over-all
activities plus the invocation of the 5th Amendment
are sufficient to warrant the inclusion of their names
in the Security Index. In the event you believe any
one of the 19 individuals should be included in the
Security Index, you should submit an up-to-date report
on that individual together with your recommendation
relative to the Security Index.

NOTED 1957

VDH:ejp
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/84 BY SP7 MAC/gll

FOIPA 240081

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Cason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

67 JAN 10 1957

DIRECTOR, FBI

1/4/57

SAC, HONOLULU

7
[REDACTED]
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bufile 100-141765)
(HN 100-4089)

b7C

0 SENATE INTERNAL SUBCOMMITTEE
HONOLULU HEARINGS
(Bufile 62-88217)
(HN 62-374)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/84 BY SP-1 Macgill
FOIPA 240081

Rebulet 12/19/56, entitled [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] SECURITY MATTER - C", and Bulet 12/27/56, entitled
"SENATE INTERNAL SUBCOMMITTEE HONOLULU HEARINGS".

On 1/2/57 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (protect identity), reported that he had contacted
[REDACTED] on about 12/14/56 to make arrange-
ments to interview [REDACTED] in detail. [REDACTED] stated that
[REDACTED] appears to have had a complete change of heart
and stated he had no intention of disclosing in detail his
complete activities within the CP or the identities of all
the persons known to him as former CP members.

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] stated that he was last active in the
CP in 1949 and did not submit a formal letter of resigna-
tion, but just stopped attending all functions or meetings
of the CP. [REDACTED] claimed that it was his understanding
that he might be asked a few specific questions but he
had no idea that he was to "open the door" to extensive
questioning. [REDACTED] claimed that there would be no end
of the questioning by various government agencies and he
preferred to return to the mainland rather than go through
the "ordeal" of long questioning.

b7C

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED]
of the above-mentioned Commission was present when [REDACTED]
made the agreement with [REDACTED] stated that
[REDACTED] intends to reinterview [REDACTED] in the near
future.

b7C

b7D

4 - BUREAU (REGISTERED)
2 - HONOLULU

LSB:eim
(6)

162-88217-1
NOT RECORDED
78 JAN 7 1957

58 JAN 9 1957

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-141765-13

HN 100-4089

In reference to the two witnesses for whom the Subcommittee will seek immunity, [] pointed out that the Subcommittee, before departing from Hawaii, had agreed that they should attempt to have immunity granted to two witnesses. However, at that time no decision had been reached as to what two individuals might be considered for immunity. [] stated that he imagines that his Commission might be consulted before a decision was made. [] pointed out that [] had considered recommending the subpoena and the granting of immunity to [] in the event he continues to refuse to cooperate fully. b7C b7D

The Bureau will be promptly advised on the receipt of any pertinent information received concerning this matter.

RECORDED . 8

RECORDED - 6

2126

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

January 2, 1957

Director, FBI

Attention:
Records Administration Branch

b7C

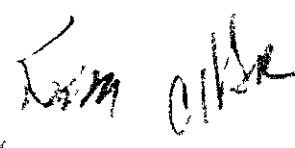
LOYALTY OF EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND OTHER PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
(HEARING BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE,
DECEMBER 17, 1956)

33877

There is enclosed for your information one
Photostat of Volume 80, dated December 17, 1956, entitled
"Hearing Held Before Subcommittee to Investigate the
Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other
Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary;
Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

I thought you would be interested in this
testimony, since it relates to the possible need for
legislation concerning the problem of disloyalty of
American citizens employed by the United Nations and
other public international organizations.


Enclosure



Note;

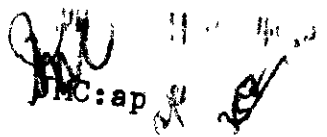
Transcript being furnished Department relates to
public session testimony. This data, which has been
analyzed in attached memo, is principally concerned with
testimony of Assistant Secretary of State, Francis O.
Wilcox, who desires no change in the UN Loyalty Program
as it presently exists, and UN Loyalty Board Chairman,
Henry S. Waldman, who testified that it would be helpful
to the Board if it could compell subjects of investigations
to appear before it when necessary and also compell subjects
of investigations to submit required loyalty forms and
answer the loyalty board's interrogatories.

References to Bureau in this testimony relate only
to Bureau's participation in UN Loyalty Program.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/22/80 BY SP-5 [signature]

UNRECORDED

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- ols -
- dmn -
- elmont -
- Mason -
- Mohr -
- Parsons -
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MAILED 9
JAN 3 1957
COMM-FBI

67 FEB 4 1957

A. H. Belmont

January 17, 1957

W. A. Branigan

Ticklers - Belmont
Branigan
Bland

b7C

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW
REGISTRATION ACT

V.D. Harrington
Moore

Reference memorandum Branigan to Belmont dated 12/20/56, reflecting Washington City News Service item 12/17/56, which indicated Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had turned over to Justice Department transcript of its Hawaiian hearings on communism and Subcommittee Counsel [redacted] stated he was calling to attention Attorney General information indicating violation of Foreign Agents Registration Act. Specifically [redacted] stated [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] testified during these hearings he bought copies "China Monthly Review" at Honolulu newsstand. Subcommittee stated this publication was propaganda medium of Chinese Communist Government.

Review of transcript itself reflects [redacted] during testimony before Subcommittee 12/4/56, testified he had purchased July and August, 1951, issues "China Monthly Review" 9/20/51 and August, 1951, respectively at Corner Liquor Store, Honolulu, from [redacted] (presently SI subject). [redacted] produced two issues purchased which were not stamped as "political propaganda" and Subcommittee voted to transmit these copies to Justice Department for proper legal action.

b7C

Bufiles reflect "China Monthly Review" published Shanghai, China, 9/10/50, to July, 1953, by John William Powell and publication was subject of Bureau investigation 1951 to 1954. Info developed during investigation of distributors of publication submitted to Department for consideration under provisions of Registration Act. Report dated 12/4/52, which was submitted Criminal Division, contained information reflecting Corner Liquor Store was distributor of publication. On 9/14/53, Department advised no further investigation requested regarding distributors in U. S. since magazine ceased publication. John William Powell presently subject of Bureau investigation under sedition statute and currently awaiting trial having been indicted. Subversive Control Section presently reviewing entire Subcommittee transcript and will make copies available to Honolulu upon completion.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/84 BY SP1 Mac/fj

4100-388459

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Boardman _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

1 - 62-88817 (Communist Activities in Hawaii)

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

China Monthly Review
100-388459

ACTION:

None. Since Internal Security Subcommittee has called Department's attention to pertinent information regarding possible Registration Act violation, no need for Bureau to call this to Department's attention. Department advised Bureau 9/14/53, that no further investigation requested regarding distributors of "China Monthly Review" since magazine had ceased publication in July, 1953. Also appears that statute of limitations would act as bar to prosecution as issues of magazines obtained by witness of Subcommittee were last obtained 9/30/51, statute of limitations being five years from date of violation.

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-54509)

FROM: SAC, WFO (105-20507)

HUNGARIAN EMERGENCY REFUGEE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - HU

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

1/15/57

ReBu telephone call instant date concerning testimony offered before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee this date.

Inquiry of [redacted] American Hungarian Federation, by SA [redacted] determined that three individuals were scheduled to testify before above-mentioned committee on instant date. She advised they are as follows:

b7C

1) [redacted] described as 25 years of age and a Hungarian who worked in Austria for International News Service after fleeing Hungary. [redacted] has authored several articles in local newspapers, has been requested to prepare an article for LIFE magazine and has previously testified before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

b7C

2) Individual who will use pseudonym [redacted] and who has previously testified before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about November 1 last and who has appeared on TV (whose sponsorship into the U.S. was effected by USIA and whose identity is known to the Bureau).

b7C

3) Unknown individual who will also use a pseudonym who has testified before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on previous occasion and who has also appeared on TV. His identity is unknown to the Bureau. [redacted]

b7C

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

CJJ/pen

(4)

57 JAN 23 1957

AIRTEL

162 XX 21-7-1
NOT RECORDED
199 JAN 24 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/04 BY SP111111/911

ALL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-54509)
FROM: SAC, WFO (105-20507)

1/16/57

HUNGARIAN EMERGENCY
REFUGEE PROGRAM
IS-HU

Re WFO airtel 1/15/57 concerning identities of witnesses before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security hearings held 1/15/57.

As indicated in reairtel, [redacted] of the American Hungarian Federation (AHF) had advised that the identities of two of the witnesses were [redacted] and [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] AHF, advised this date that he is sure [redacted] was not one of the witnesses before the Subcommittee on 1/15/57 and to the best of his knowledge [redacted]

[redacted] was not a witness either on 1/15/57. [redacted] added that apparently the witnesses came from the refugees at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, and returned to Camp Kilmer and their identities are unknown to him. He could not suggest any method for determining the witnesses' true identities except by contact with the Counsel of the Subcommittee or officials at Camp Kilmer.

WFO will promptly advise of the receipt of any additional pertinent info in this regard.

LAUGHLIN

3 - Bureau
1 - Washington Field
JLS:ejw
(4)

AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/86 BY SP-12/12/86

Inquiry of the Press Representative of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee without having to divulge the name of the inquirer or purpose of the inquiry determined that three individuals testified instant date.

No. 1 witness used the pseudonym of [REDACTED] which in Hungarian means freedom fighter.

b7C

No. 2 witness also used the pseudonym of [REDACTED]

No. 3 witness was a young boy approximately 14 years of age, IMRE NAGY.

The No. 2 witness continued testimony in afternoon session which began at 2:30 PM and commented re tortures in Hungary of AVH and Soviet domination of AVH.

IMRE NAGY testified concerning the fighting he and other young men did against Soviet troops in Hungary and his exploits in that regard.

Hearings were recessed at 3:40 PM in order that certain witnesses could be returned to Camp Kilmer early because of inclement weather.

SAs who attended afternoon session of this public hearing noted that about six young men who gave appearance of having recently resided in Europe were accompanied by an American who acted as moderator and who caused recess to be taken. This American commented he would report to INS information that one [REDACTED] had first denied but later admitted CP membership. It appeared that [REDACTED] was not one of the individuals giving testimony today and that [REDACTED] is currently at Camp Kilmer.

b7C

WFO will contact established sources further on 1/16 next to establish, if possible, true identity of above witnesses. The Bureau will be promptly advised of any further developments.

LAUGHLIN

Mr. Harrington

SAC, Honolulu (100-40491)

January 14, 1957

Director, FBI (100-141725)

[REDACTED] b7C
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurlet dated January 4, 1957.

It is noted that subject is to be reinterviewed in the near future by [REDACTED] of the Commission on Subversive Activities to the Legislature, Territory of Hawaii, and you should attempt to ascertain the results of this reinterview. b7C

If subject's status or attitude at any time in the future changes so that another reinterview of him appears warranted, you should promptly advise Bureau and request Bureau authority to interview him.

YELLOW ONLY: Subject's SI card cancelled 6-55. Attempts to interview subject were made by Bureau Agents on four occasions, but he refused to furnish pertinent information. He reportedly was CP member from 1938 until 1950.

cc - 62-88217 (Senate Internal Security Subcommittee)

VDH:ejp
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/16/89 BY SP7ma/jt

Office Memorandum for the ATTORNEY GENERAL

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
made available to me photostat copies of some of [redacted]
[redacted] papers which she gave to Bella Dodd and Bella Dodd in turn gave
them to [redacted] I made photostat copies which are attached and I am returning
to him his photostats.

b7C

The papers contain correspondence between [redacted] and
[redacted] The first photostat dated February 20, 1944, was given to the
President by [redacted] at the request of [redacted] It sets forth
the details of the Chinese Nationalist Army. Of interest is a letter from the
Director dated August 9, 1944, addressed to [redacted] acknowledging a
communication which [redacted] addressed to [redacted] pointing out that
the information she furnished was of primary interest to the War and Navy
Departments

b7C

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Becker

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/19/77 BY 2333 [signature]

JAN 20 1951

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont *at*

DATE: 1-24-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols *mn*SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITYSUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONYSCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
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 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The following volumes of testimony have been received from the Committee and have been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to my office for return to the Committee:

*Memo to Boardman
Belmont
2-4-57
W.H.S. pad*

Volume 74, at Washington, D. C., January 18, 1957

Testimony of [redacted] in Executive Session *Sabberg*

*Memo Boardman
Re Robert A. ...
1-29-57
SJP*

Volume 75, at Washington, D. C., January 18, 1957

Testimony of [redacted] in Executive Session *Pap*

Volume 76, at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1957

Testimony of [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MWS/gt

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp
 (3) - p

RECORDED - 31

JAN 30 1957

EX-117

64 FEB 13 1957

7631 b7C

*Photostats made of
 testimony & original transcripts
 returned to Mr. Nichols
 1-29-57 JGS.*

MR. A. H. BELMONT

January 24, 1957

MR. F. E. ROACH

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY - YU

On January 22, 1957, the Bureau was confidentially furnished with a stenographic transcript of testimony taken in Executive Session by the United States Internal Security Subcommittee at Washington, D. C., on January 17, 1957. (Volume 73, "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States," pages 1709-1728) A Photostat of this transcript was prepared and was permanently filed as an exhibit in Bufile 62-88217. (See memorandum Mr. Nichols to Mr. Belmont, 1/22/57, re above testimony.)

The transcript consists of the testimony of a Yugoslav defector who testified under oath, through an interpreter, and under the fictitious name [REDACTED] The witness advised [REDACTED]

b7C

On pages 1727 and 1728 of the transcript, the following information of pertinence to captioned matters appears: OTHER Executive Session of Congress

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/83 BY 3124

JGS:bjt

(7)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Section Tickler
1 - [REDACTED]

1 Yellow 105-23720
1 Yellow 62-88217
Original 105-10974

NOT RECORDED

44

b7C

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Memorandum Mr. Roach to Mr. Belmont

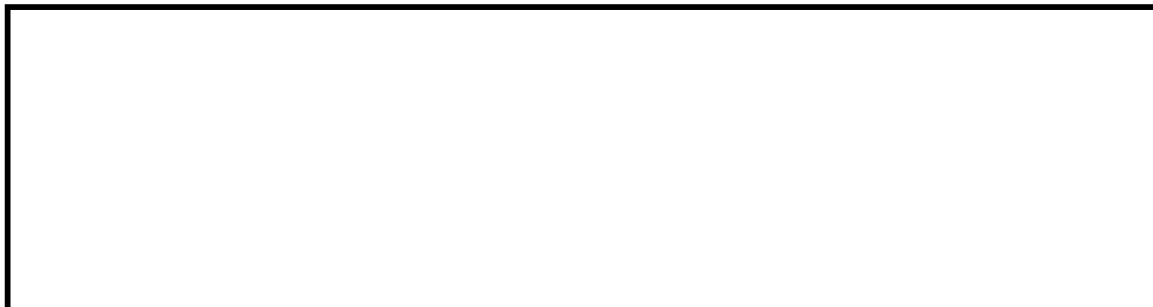
Re: [REDACTED]

b7C

INTERNAL SECURITY - R

105-19974

OTHER Executive Session of Congress



A review of Bureau files indicates that the foregoing testimony probably relates to the captioned subjects who have been the subjects of Bureau investigations.

Inasmuch as this testimony occurred in an Executive Session, the Bureau's possession of it must be kept strictly confidential and the information set out above cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau.

A separate memorandum under this date has been prepared summarizing all of the testimony of [REDACTED] contained in the above volume. b7C

ACTION:

Route this memorandum to the Espionage Section for information and such attention as is considered appropriate.

FOR RELEASE IN A.M. NEWSPAPERS OF TUESDAY, JAN. 15, 1957

FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

23916

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- The complete story of a Communist master spy who extended his influence into the highest echelons of the United States government is printed for the first time in the latest publication of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The research staff study pieces together the little-known career of J. Peters, onetime head of the Communist underground in the United States. It consists of details quoted from varied sources and testimony, ranging from Peters' arrival in the United States as an immigrant from Hungary in 1924 to his deportation in 1949.

Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Subcommittee chairman, said in releasing the material that it "throws new light on a man whose crimes against the United States played an important, but little-noted, part in shaping the recent history of this country." The publication is Part 27 of the Subcommittee series on "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

It was Peters who was in direct charge of an underground group in Washington which was made up of such highly-placed members as Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White. Peters was the man who supervised a string of district organizers of the Communist Party across the nation, giving them precise instructions on the skills of espionage.

During his 25 years Peters engaged in countless underground operations, and in that period was probably the most influential man in the Communist movement in the United States. But through it all he remained a man of mystery, known only to a hard core of party workers.

As a matter of fact, the name J. Peters itself was only one of a dozen aliases which he used. His real name was Alexander Goldberger.

Among the many sources of information about Peters contained in the Subcommittee study are frequent quotations from the testimony and writings of former Communist courier Whittaker Chambers, whose information exposed the activities of Hiss and others. Much material also is supplied by Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the Communist Daily Worker.

Peters is described as a short, pudgy man with dark bushy hair.

One source said: "He also loved mystery and detective stories. He said it was a relaxing habit."

3-30-49

SP4BJA/KC

NOT RECORDED

EX-114-100

RECORDED

A Hungarian, Peters got his post as head of the Communist underground by bringing over the Hungarian section of the Communist Party, U.S.A. to the Stalinists, according to two sources quoted in the research study.

After the Chambers testimony, immigration officials deported Peters to Hungary. Peters wrote a fellow Communist in 1949 that he had been put in charge of all publications going to Hungarian Communist Party members and sympathizers throughout the world.

A Subcommittee staff member recently was informed that Peters survived the Hungarian revolt and is living in Budapest.

#

FOR RELEASE IN P.M. NEWSPAPERS MONDAY, Jan. 14, 1957
 FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

*file
mm*

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigators are continuing examination of testimony indicating possible Communist infiltration into major American political parties, Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) said today.

The investigation was launched last summer by the subcommittee which Eastland heads with testimony by John Lautner, former official of the Communist Party of the United States; political pollster Bernard Conal; and former Communist Bella Dodd.

"The subcommittee staff has this material for study, and if the situation warrants will pursue this line of inquiry," Senator Eastland said.

He made the announcement in releasing Part 26 of the subcommittee series on "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States," continuing the testimony of Lautner and Conal. Dr. Dodd's testimony is in Part 27, which is to be released shortly.

Lautner testified that it was Communist policy to infiltrate both Republican and Democratic Parties. Not to do so, according to Lautner, would be "branded as sectarianism" by the Communists.

As district organizer for the Communist Party in West Virginia in the 1940's, Lautner said it was his task to work with the miners.

"...It was our task to go where the miners were, going to the Democratic Party. And we had, in the party--the chairman of the West Virginia State Youth Committee of the Democratic Party... We finally elected one party member into the State Assembly...through the Democratic Party. We made other attempts. We failed there. But we were in the Democratic Party. We had a little toehold," Lautner said.

Lautner later became a member of the National Review Commission of the Communist Party, but was expelled by the Communists in 1950.

Conal testified he had conducted election surveys for both major political parties, the Progressive Party which ran Henry Wallace for President in 1948, and the Political Action Committee of the CIO.

When questioned about Communist party membership, Conal claimed he had not been affiliated with any political party in the last ten years. For times previous to that, he invoked the fifth amendment. *...he invoked the fifth amendment...*

FOR RELEASE IN A.M. NEWSPAPERS OF SUNDAY, JAN. 13, 1957
FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Proposed legislation which would prevent deportation from the United States of Iron Curtain refugees who entered this country under false identities will be re-introduced at this session of Congress, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee announced today.

Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) introduced a similar bill last summer, but it did not pass Congress prior to adjournment.

Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the subcommittee, said Senator Jenner had informed him that he would again introduce the bill.

"The plight of these unfortunate refugees continues to be a potent threat to the internal security of this country," Senator Eastland said.

"They came here because of distaste for Communist rule. Yet the false identities they assumed make them fair game for blackmail and possible reluctant recruitment as espionage agents."

Eastland said if the "false paper refugees" are allowed to come forward without fear of deportation the nation might gain valuable evidence about Soviet tactics in the United States.

At the same time, Senator Eastland released for public distribution the printed testimony on which the proposed legislative action is based. It is published in parts 24 and 25 of the subcommittee series on "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

Testimony in the defection hearings showed that ~~many~~ citizens of Soviet countries assumed false identities following World War II so that they could escape Communist domination. Under terms of the Yalta Agreement all nationals were to be returned to the countries of which they were citizens.

Many came to the United States, and some subsequently became naturalized citizens.

Under present laws, a person in the United States under such circumstances is subject to deportation if his true status is discovered.

Witnesses testified that Communist agents had contacted refugee

and indicated there were attempts to

MP

- 2 -

The publications released include testimony by Countess Alexandra Tolstoy, current leader of the Hungarian refugee program.

Another noted witness was Rodon Berezov, Russian poet, who fled to America under a false name but later revealed his identity. Since then he has been involved in difficulties with immigration authorities.

Because of the publicity accorded his case, the plight of the refugees living under false identities is known as "Berezov's Disease."

During the hearings, immigration officials stated deportations of persons in the false identity category had been halted due to the circumstances.

* - * - * - *

- Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harrington

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

January 29, 1957

Director, FBI

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE
ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED
STATES SENATE
HONOLULU HEARINGS**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/84 BY SP7 JHE

2131
The above-captioned subcommittee held
hearings at Honolulu, Hawaii, during December, 1956.

Information has been received that the
subcommittee will attempt to invoke the provisions
of the Immunity Bill concerning two witnesses who
testified before this subcommittee during the Honolulu
hearings. It was indicated the above-captioned
subcommittee will attempt to have immunity given to
[redacted] FBI file 100-38459. All pertinent
reports concerning [redacted] have previously been
furnished to the Records Administration Branch of the
Department. It was further indicated the subcommittee
will attempt to have immunity granted to one of the
following individuals: [redacted] FBI file
100-362063. [redacted] FBI file 100-368212;
[redacted] FBI file 100-355749; or
[redacted] FBI file 100-11046. All
pertinent reports concerning the above-mentioned
individuals have previously been furnished to the
Records Administration Branch. b7C

62-88217

2cc - Honolulu
NOTE: SAC, HONOLULU

Re your radiogram dated 1-22-57. You should remain
alert for additional information concerning the identity of
the individuals to whom the subcommittee will attempt to
have immunity granted. Advise Bureau promptly of all pertinent
information developed.

Yellow Only: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] are included in the SI. b7C
Files of all of the above-mentioned individuals are up to date
and the Department is in possession of all pertinent reports
concerning them.

VDH:ejp
(8)

FBI - OFFICE
HONOLULU

DECODED COPY

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 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
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 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

☒ Radio☐ Teletype

FROM HONOLULU

1-22-57

NR 222304

TO DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, HONOLULU HEARINGS.
 BUFILE 62-88217. REBULET DECEMBER 27, 1956, AND HONOLULU
 LETTER JANUARY 4, LAST, CONCERNING GRANTING OF IMMUNITY TO
 WITNESSES. JANUARY 22, 1957. [REDACTED] PROTECT IDENTITY,

[REDACTED] ADVISED HIS
 COMMISSION IN TOUCH WITH [REDACTED] OVER WEEKEND AND HE
 BELIEVES THAT COMMITTEE WILL ATTEMPT TO HAVE IMMUNITY GIVEN
 TO [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

[REDACTED] SUBJECT OF BUREAU FILE 100-38459.

THE SECOND WITNESS WILL BE CHOSEN FROM AMONG ILWU OFFICIALS,

[REDACTED] BUFILE 100-362063; [REDACTED] BUFILE
 100-368212; [REDACTED] OF HONOLULU RECORD, BUFILE 100-355749,
 OR [REDACTED] UPW HEAD, BUFILE 100-11046. [REDACTED] STATED

HE DOES NOT KNOW WHY SUBCOMMITTEE CONSIDERING [REDACTED] INASMUCH
 AS THE TERRITORIAL COMMISSION HAS ONLY ONE PERSON WHO CAN IDENTIFY
 HIM AS FORMER MEMBER CP. [REDACTED] STATES COMMITTEE INTENDS TO
 SELECT THEIR TWO WITNESSES FOR IMMUNITY THIS WEEK.

RECEIVED:

7:03 PM RADIO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/84 BY SP-1 [REDACTED]

7:44 PM CODING UNIT HJT

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 22

EX-117

JAN 29 1957

DECODED COPY

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

☒ Radio☐ Teletype

FROM HONOLULU

1-22-57

NR 222304

TO DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, HONOLULU HEARINGS.
 BUFILE 62-88217. REBULET DECEMBER 27, 1956, AND HONOLULU
 LETTER JANUARY 4, LAST, CONCERNING GRANTING OF IMMUNITY TO
 WITNESSES. JANUARY 22, 1957, [REDACTED] PROTECT IDENTITY,

[REDACTED] ADVISED HIS
 COMMISSION IN TOUCH WITH [REDACTED] OVER WEEKEND AND HE
 BELIEVES THAT COMMITTEE WILL ATTEMPT TO HAVE IMMUNITY GIVEN
 TO [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] SUBJECT OF BUREAU FILE 100-38459.

b7D

THE SECOND WITNESS WILL BE CHOSEN FROM AMONG ILWU OFFICIALS,

[REDACTED] BUFILE 100-362063; [REDACTED] BUFILE
 100-368212; [REDACTED] OF HONOLULU RECORD, BUFILE 100-355749,

OR [REDACTED] UPW HEAD, BUFILE 100-11046. [REDACTED] STATED
 HE DOES NOT KNOW WHY SUBCOMMITTEE CONSIDERING [REDACTED] INASMUCH

AS THE TERRITORIAL COMMISSION HAS ONLY ONE PERSON WHO CAN IDENTIFY
 HIM AS FORMER MEMBER CP. [REDACTED] STATES COMMITTEE INTENDS TO
 SELECT THEIR TWO WITNESSES FOR IMMUNITY THIS WEEK.

RECEIVED:

7:03 PM RADIO

7:44 PM CODING UNIT HJT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/84 BY SP1 MJD/gjt

FOIPA 240081
 RECEIVED

JAN 23 2 03 PM '57

RECEIVED

Handwritten notes:
 L. A. A. G. Thompson
 2-2-57
 1-29-57
 V. D. H. / fep
 3-25-57
 Belmont

Handwritten notes:
 [Signature]
 [Signature]
 [Signature]
 5-1-57

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 24, 1957

FROM : R. H. Roach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAC/gll

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY OF HUNGARIAN REFUGEES BEFORE
SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
VOLUME 71, EXECUTIVE SESSION, 1/15/57
(MADE PUBLIC 1/16/57)

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Pursuant to request in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you of 1/18/57 regarding captioned testimony, two Photostats of the stenographic transcript of such testimony have been prepared and are enclosed. The original transcript has been returned to Mr. Nichols for return to the subcommittee.

Review of the testimony reflects that 4 recent refugees to the United States from Hungary testified through an interpreter, using fictitious names to protect their identities. The true names of the witnesses do not appear in the transcript. These witnesses testified OTHER

OTHER

ACTION:

No action on the part of the Bureau appears necessary in connection with above testimony. However, the enclosed Photostats should be routed to the Espionage Section for information and thereafter at least one Photostat should be filed with this memorandum, indexing all names except those of subcommittee personnel.

- JGS:uep (5)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Section
1 - [redacted]

Enclosures

2 - ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/84 BY SP7 MAC/gll

NOT RECORDED
190 JAN 31 1957

EXP-SEC

INT-SEC

b7C

JAN 25 1957

62-

HQ-88217

Serial 2132



62-HQ-88217-E2132

EBF

OSURE

177-2132

4671

WASHINGTON, JAN. 3 --Two witnesses who appeared before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee recently have each spent a working lifetime in propaganda work for the Communist conspirators in the Kremlin, Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss), subcommittee chairman, said today.

"I cannot understand," he said, "how an American citizen, raised and educated in the United States, graduate of an American college, intelligent and capable as these two seemed to be, could subvert a legitimate career to glorify a conspiracy which is working every day to destroy the government of their country.

"Is there weakness in our educational system which would produce such distorted minds or is there a failure in our laws or in their administration that would allow them and others to proselytize their training and talents in this manner. I am sure our educational leaders have the matter under study for I have seen recent recommendations to that effect. The subcommittee will continue to scrutinize the legal aspects of the matter."

The two persons to whom Chairman Eastland referred were Jessica Smith and Joseph North who testified on April 24 and May 4, respectively, and whose testimony is now available in printed form as Part 22, of the subcommittee's series on "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

"So far as North is concerned," the Chairman said, "there is evidence in our record that he has been a recruiter for Soviet intelligence, while he was openly working for the Daily Worker. On the basis of his latest testimony, the committee may assume that the same ties are still there."

Jessica Smith is the wife of John Abt and the former wife of the late Harold Ware. Abt and Ware have been identified in sworn testimony as members of the first known Communist cell among United States government employees, Ware as the organizer and Abt as a member. Abt invoked the Fifth amendment a year or so ago when he was asked by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee

a year or so ago when he was asked by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee

No 0-10
 201
 54 FEB 12 1957
~~SECRET~~
 ATTORNEYS
 sub ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 HAAK
 (more) Dept
 Esp. Sec
 15-00000

whether he ever was a Communist. Miss Smith followed the same course in her testimony.

Miss Smith was graduated at Swarthmore college in 1915. Her biography in Who's Who says she was an organizer and speaker in the suffrage movement. She has made four visits in the USSR between 1922 and 1945 for a total time which she estimated as about 4-1/2 years.

She is presently editor of the New World Review, an American publication of the USSR which is the successor to Soviet Russia Today, a similar propaganda magazine of which she became editor in 1936. The Library of Congress provided the subcommittee with a five-page list of articles she wrote from 1937 to 1954. She said it is possible she wrote all of them. She also identified the titles of eight books which she either had written or had aided in preparation of the text.

Circulation of the New World Review, Miss Smith said, is now about 8,000 though, during the war years, it reached 120,000. Its revenue from subscriptions, sales and advertising does not meet expenses and the deficit, she said, is made up by donations. She invoked the Fifth amendment when asked whether any of the donors are Communists.

North has been identified as a "lookout man for good Communists who could be used on Russian Intelligence work."

Winston Burdett recently testified before this subcommittee that North introduced him to Jacob Golos, an officer of the Soviet military Intelligence organization in this country, who induced him to become a Soviet spy. William Remington also testified, on another occasion, that North introduced him to Golos. Remington, a State Department employee, was convicted of perjury for falsely testifying before a Grand jury that he had never been a member of the Communist Party.

North invoked the Fifth amendment in refusing to testify about any of this testimony.

He said he was born in the Ukraine and brought to the United States when he was 9 months old, educated in Pennsylvania schools and graduated in 1925 from the University of Pennsylvania. He worked for the Chester (Pa) Times for three or four years, then the depression hit and North said he went around the country writing articles about that. He complained, however, that the "only publications that would use those articles * * * were the labor papers." He would not deny that he was a Communist at that time, again invoking the Fifth amendment.

He said he wrote for the Labor Defender, the Daily Worker, Labor Unity and New Masses, all Communist or pro-Communist publications, until the Spanish civil war broke. He then went to Spain as a correspondent and remained in Europe through World War II. He refused, using the privilege of the Fifth amendment, to say whether he knew Gen. Emilio ~~Kleber~~, a Soviet military intelligence agent, either in Spain or in the United States, and whether he brought into this country a dossier of Gen. Walter ~~Krivitsky~~ which was used by New Masses to attack Krivitsky's anti-Soviet articles in the Saturday Evening Post.

North is now a writer for the Daily Worker.

The volume also contains testimony of a Japanese-American, Shugii Fugii, who said he is an interpreter and translator for Japanese industrialists who come to this country; Bernard ~~Koten~~, a research librarian, formerly research director of the American-Russian Institute, and George ~~Mills~~, of East Rockaway, N.Y., who said he is a free-lance writer.

Fugii worked for the Office of War Information and later for the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. He refused, invoking the Fifth amendment, to say whether he was a Communist at that period.

Fugii, Koten and Mills all invoked the Fifth amendment rather than testify about any knowledge of Communist activities.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 1-18-57

b7C

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: **INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES**

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The following volume of testimony has been received from the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to my office for return to the Committee:

Volume 71, at Washington, D. C., January 15, 1957

Testimony of Frank Kossuth in Public Session

Janos Szekeley in Public Session

Imre Mogar in Public Session

Istban Szepe in Public Session

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP1 Mac/gt

RECORDED - 31

16 JAN 30 1957

50 FEB 7 1957

Photostats of
testimony prepared
original transcript
returned to Mr. Nichols
1-23-57 jss

124/37
365

EX-157

color

cl. H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 10, 1957

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII
 HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY
 SUBCOMMITTEE, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1956
 (VOLUMES 1 THROUGH 6, "SCOPE OF SOVIET
 ACTIVITIES IN U.S.," SECOND SESSION)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you of 1/10/57 forwarding two Photostats each of 6 volumes of stenographic transcripts of testimony before the above subcommittee at Honolulu on November 30, December 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1956. The volume numbers and the identity of the witnesses whose testimony appears in each volume are set out in referenced memorandum.

Examination of above transcripts reflects that the testimony relates to matters of primary interest to the Subversive Control Section. It is recommended, therefore, that above Photostats, which are enclosed, be forwarded to the Subversive Control Section for review and to determine any action that may be required in the Bureau's interests. The duplicate Photostat of each volume may be forwarded to the interested field office if warranted.

A memorandum or memoranda should be prepared reflecting that each volume of testimony has been appropriately reviewed and noting any action taken in connection therewith. This memorandum or a copy of it should be designated for Bureau file 62-88217, the control file for above subcommittee.

ACTION:

Route this memorandum and enclosed Photostats to Subversive Control Section for review and action, in accordance with above recommendation. At least one of enclosed Photostats should be filed with instant memorandum and all names appearing therein other than those of subcommittee personnel should be indexed.

Enclosures

JGS:uep

(6)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. V.D. Harrington
- 1 - Section
- 1 - [redacted] b7C

62-88217-2135

RETURN TO
INDEXING DESK

6 FEB 1 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BELMONT

DATE: January 10, 1957

FROM L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
Second Session on Scope of Soviet Activity in the U. S.
at Honolulu, T. H.

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The following six volumes of testimony have been received from the Committee. Two Photostats of each have been made and sent to Mr. Sizoo of the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate review. The originals have been returned to the Committee. All was in Public Session.

Volume I - November 30, 1956

Testimony of:

Samuel Wilder King, Governor
Robert McElrath
Joseph Kealalio
Ernest Arena
Newton Kunio Miyagi

b7C

Volume II - December 1, 1956

Testimony of:

Ingram M. Stainback, Justice
Thomas Sukichi Yagi
Frank Silva

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/84 BY SP-2
202400

Volume III - December 3, 1956

Testimony of:

Lyle G. Phillips
Newton Kunio Miyagi
David Evans Thompson
Tadashi Ogawa
Saburo Fujisaki
Ronald B. Jamieson
Henry Benjamin Epstein

RECORDED - 86

6 FEB 1 1957

Volume IV - December 4, 1956

Testimony of:

Max Roffman
Stephen Thomas Murin
Edward Rohrbough
Irving Fishman

Yago Okubo

Wilfred M.

Koichi Omori

1957

LBN:FML (3)

CC - Mr. Sizoo

Nichols to Belmont 1/10/57

TESTIMONY INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

Second Session on Scope of Soviet Activity in the U. S.
at Honolulu, T. H.

Volume V - December 5, 1956

Testimony of:

Benjamin Franklin Dillingham

Myer C. Symonds

Gustave K. Sproat

Mrs. Yoshiko Hall

Mrs. Harriet Bouslog Sawyer

Frank Marshall Davis

Volume VI - December 6, 1956

Testimony of:

William B. Stephenson

WBS

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
Re: Communist Activities in Hawaii
Hearings Before Senate Internal
Security Subcommittee
November - December, 1956
Bufile 62-88217

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. It was recommended that the enclosed Photostats of the above testimony be filed with this memorandum in Bufile 62-88217.

2. It is recommended that the attached letter to Honolulu be forwarded instructing Honolulu to obtain and forward a copy of the list of communists mentioned by

b7C

3. It is recommended that one Photostat of the transcript of the testimony be forwarded the Honolulu Office for its information and assistance.

sent 1/31/57

LOW
ADP
[Signature]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 29, 1957

FROM : MR. J. F. BLAND

cc - Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bland
Mr. Harrington

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: 1) COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII
HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1956
(VOLUMES 1 THROUGH 6, "SCOPE
OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN U.S.,"
SECOND SESSION)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/14/84 BY SP1 MAB

FOIPA 240081

1/14/57

Reference is made to Mr. Roach's memorandum to you of 1-10-57 forwarding Photostats of 6 volumes of stenographic transcripts of testimony before the above subcommittee at Honolulu on November 30, December 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1956. The 6 volumes of testimony have been reviewed by the Subversive Control Section and this testimony reflects 30 witnesses were subpoenaed and testified before the subcommittee. Of these 30 witnesses, 9 were leading citizens or officials of either the Territory of Hawaii or the United States Government and testified freely concerning their knowledge of subversive activities in Hawaii. This group was comprised of Samuel Wilder King, governor of the Territory of Hawaii, Ingram M. Stainback, member of the Supreme Court, Territory of Hawaii, Lyle G. Phillips, former president of the Hawaii Residents Association, Ronald B. Jamieson, former Deputy Attorney General, Territory of Hawaii, Irving Fishman, U. S. Customs official, Benjamin Franklin Dillingham, member of the Senate, Territory of Hawaii, Theodore Emanuel, executive of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities, Gustave K. Sproat, chief clerk of the Supreme Court, Territory of Hawaii and Mr. William B. Stephenson, chairman of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities. The remaining 21 witnesses are or were subjects of security investigations and all invoked the 5th Amendment to the Constitution when asked concerning their subversive activities. No new or pertinent information not already known to the Bureau was developed through these hearings with the exception of the statement made by Judge Stainback which appears on page 114 of volume 2 of the testimony that he received a list of more than 100 names of card-carrying communists in 1947 from General Hull who was then the commanding officer of the Hawaiian Department, U. S. Army, and the statement of Mr. Theodore Emanuel which appears on page 417 of volume 4 of the testimony which reflects a possible violation of the Registration Act in that he had purchased issues of the "China Monthly Review" at a liquor store in Honolulu. Bufiles fail to reflect that the Bureau has ever received the list of names mentioned by Judge Stainback. The possible Registration Act violation has previously been called to the attention of the Espionage Section and was handled as reflected in Mr. Branigan's memorandum to you 1-17-57.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosures (2)

VDH:eip (4)

64 MAR 11 1957

FEB 1 1957

RETURN TO
INDEXING DESK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 1-18-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAB/attSUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The following volume of testimony has been received from
 the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the
 Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to
 my office for return to the Committee:

Volume 72, at Washington, D. C., January 16, 1957

Testimony of [REDACTED] in Executive Session b7C

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp
(3)

ENCLOSURE

66 APR 16 1957

11 JAN 31 1957

62-88217

hototats made of
 testimony and
 original transcript
 turned to Mr. Nichols
 1-23-57 JSS.

memo Rouch to Belmont
 1-29-57
 JGS.

memo Rouch to Belmont
 1-30-57
 JGS.
 (100-310008)

RECORDED - 14

EX - 117

- 2/38

LBN

C. J. Gandy

A. H. Belmont

Tic: Belmont
Branigan

b7C

January 31, 1957

W. A. Branigan

Nichols
Liaison

~~SECRET~~

08071

TESTIMONY OF [REDACTED]

b7C

BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
JANUARY 17, 1957 (VOLUME 73, EXECUTIVE SESSION)

Re memorandum Reach to Belmont 1-24-57 analyzing contents of captioned testimony. While it contained information OTHER of interest concerning the indoctrination of Yugoslav army officer in communist doctrine, the testimony occurred in Executive Session and cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau. [REDACTED]

In view thereof it appears likely he may be able to identify others of interest to us and we shall consider desirability of interview; however, the identity of the testifier [REDACTED] is an assumed name used to protect his identity) is unknown to us. We shall ascertain his identity and all available data concerning him from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee after which desirability of interview can be considered.

b7C

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That this memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Nichols so that the identity of testifier and all available data can be obtained for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

WHS:prd
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

2-30-99
CLASSIFIED BY SP4B/mc
DECLASSIFY ON: 20X 1

FOI 240081
CLASSIFIED BY SP7 [signature]
DECLASSIFY ON: G202
5/16/84

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

(CONFIDENTIAL)

cc - 1 - 62-88217 (Internal Security Subcommittee Testimony)

- Tolson
- Nichols
- Boardman
- Belmont
- Mason
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

MAR 13 1957

Mr. A. H. Belmont

January 30, 1957

R. R. Roach

b7C

(TE TIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, VOLUME 78,
EXECUTIVE SESSION, 1/22/57, "SCOPE
OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN UNITED STATES")

Pursuant to request in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you
of 1/24/57 regarding captioned testimony, two Photostats of steno-
graphic transcript of such testimony have been prepared and are
enclosed. The original transcript has been returned to Mr. Nichols
for return to the subcommittee.

OTHER

ACTION:

OTHER

Route this memorandum and enclosed photostats to the Legislative
Section for review and a determination of any additional action that may
be necessary. Since this testimony occurred in Executive Session, the
Bureau's possession of this transcript must be kept confidential and the
contents cannot be disseminated outside of the Bureau.

At least one Photostat of enclosed testimony should be filed
permanently with this memorandum and all names except those of sub-
committee personnel should be indexed.

Enclosures

7-1-1 (6)

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/10/84 BY SP-1 Mac/84

7 FEB 8 1957

52 FEB 19 1957

Mr. A. M. Belmont

January 30, 1957

R. R. Nease

CLASSIFIED BY: SP7 Mac/jlt
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

FCE PA 240 61

33673

[REDACTED] WAS.
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
BUFILE 100-310008 b7C

[REDACTED]
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
BUFILE 101-467

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/84 BY SP7 Mac/jlt

SYNOPSIS:

[REDACTED] residing New York City and former active communist sympathizer, was personal friend of President and Mrs. Roosevelt and as such acted as White House contact for Earl Browder in early 1940's. [REDACTED] has cooperated with Bureau since 1950 but her reliability is not considered proved. There is indication she may be mentally unbalanced at present time. OTHER

b7C

ORIGINAL

OTHER

ACTION:

Route this memorandum to Espionage Section for consideration and any attention considered necessary in connection with Bayer, [REDACTED] and related investigations. Since this testimony occurred in Executive Session, the Bureau's possession of a copy of this transcript must be kept confidential and the information cannot be disseminated. b7C

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - [REDACTED] b7C
Yellow - Bufile 101-467
Yellow - Bufile 62-8217
Original - Bufile 100-310008

Memo Reach to Belmont

Re: Theodore Bayer, was.
Internal Security - R
Bufile 100-31008

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

33674

[redacted]
Internal Security - R
Bufile 101-467

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/27/97 BY SP-7 J. J. [redacted]

DETAILS:

On 1/18/57 the Bureau was confidentially furnished with a stenographic transcript of testimony taken in Executive Session by the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee at Washington, D. C., on January 16, 1957 (Volume 72, "Scope of Soviet Act in United States," pages 1638-1708.) A Photostat of this transcript has been prepared and is permanently filed as an exhibit together with a memorandum of analysis in Bufile 62-86217 (see memo Mr. Nichols to Mr. Belmont 1/18/57 regarding above testimony.)

The foregoing transcript consists of testimony of [redacted] New York City, who is subject of closed security investigation by the Bureau, Bufile 100-22337. [redacted] a professional artist, was a reported Communist Party member and sympathizer in the early 1940's. As a personal acquaintance of President and Mrs. Roosevelt, she was White House contact for Earl Browder in early 1940's. She has cooperated with and furnished information to the Bureau intermittently since 1950, but we have not considered her to be of proven reliability. Interviews with her and with her associates during the fall of 1956 have indicated that [redacted] may be suffering from delusions and mental illness at the present time. [redacted] testimony, as appearing in above transcript, is frequently vague and ambiguous, possibly because of her mental condition.

In the above transcript [redacted] testified principally about her relations with President Roosevelt and Browder and substantially all information in the transcript is already in the possession of the Bureau.

With respect of the captioned subjects, however, this separate memorandum is being prepared, in addition to the over-all memorandum analyzing her testimony, to record [redacted] testimony concerning them in their respective case files:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
OTHER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 2 -

Memo Hooch to Belmont

Re: Theodore Bayer, Was.
Internal Security - R
Bufile 100-31008

50775

[REDACTED]
Internal Security - R
Bufile 101-467

b7C

OTHER

OTHER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Belmont
Bland
Harrington

SAC, Honolulu

January 31, 1957

Director, FBI (62-88217)

**COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII
HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1956
(VOLUMES 1 THROUGH 6, "SCOPE
OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN U. S.,"
SECOND SESSION)**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/84 BY SP-1 WAD/fate

FBI PH 24-203

Enclosed herewith for your information and assistance is one copy each of 3 stenographic transcripts of the hearings held before the above-mentioned subcommittee at Honolulu on November 30, December 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1956.

OTHER

Review of Bufiles failed to reflect that such a list had ever been obtained and furnished the Bureau. If such a list was previously furnished to the Bureau, you are instructed to immediately advise the date and caption of the communication which forwarded the list to the Bureau. If your records fail to reflect that a copy of this list was ever obtained, you should attempt to obtain a copy of this list through your sources and promptly furnish it to the Bureau. If you are not in possession of the above-mentioned list and cannot obtain it through your established sources, consider securing a copy of this list directly from [redacted] b7C

As soon as a copy of the list is obtained, you should immediately review your files to determine if appropriate action has been taken in connection with all names mentioned on the list. If necessary, appropriate action should be immediately instituted by your office. Advise Bureau promptly of your action in this matter. - 2139

Enclosures (6)

YELLOW: Attachment to memo to Belmont from Bland dated 1-29-57, re same caption, VDH:ejp.

VDH:ejp
(6)

VDH

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. ~~TOLSON~~ BELMONT

DATE: January 11, 1957

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS *nm*SUBJECT: TESTIMONY INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
Second Session on Scope of Soviet Activity in the U. S.
at Honolulu, T. H.

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Nease	_____
Tele Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The following volume of EXECUTIVE SESSION testimony covering the hearings in Honolulu from November 30 through December 6, 1956, has been received from the Committee. Two Photostats have been made and sent to Mr. Sizoo of the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate review. The originals have been returned to the Committee.

It includes the testimony of

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAC/9A

LBN:FML
(3)

cc - Mr. Sizoo

1-17-57
1-17-57
1-17-57
1-17-57

64 FEB 11 1957

EX-1

5-22
9/11

100-2140

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *R*

DATE: January 17, 1957

FROM : *JGS* *b7C*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP1 Mac/tal
FOIPA 240061

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII,
 HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY
 SUBCOMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 6, 1956
 (VOLUME 1, EXECUTIVE SESSIONS "SCOPE OF
 SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES,"
 SECOND SESSION)

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Belmont of 1/11/57, forwarding 2 Photostats of stenographic transcript of captioned testimony. The transcript consists of testimony of 17 individuals, who are identified in referenced memorandum; all witnesses are residents of the territory of Hawaii and all invoked the U.S. Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer some questions put to them by the subcommittee. All of these witnesses later testified in open session before the subcommittee, and transcripts of that testimony have been received by the Bureau and are being reviewed by the Subversive Control Section, in accordance with recommendation in memorandum from Mr. Roach to Mr. Belmont dated 1/10/57 in captioned matter.

OTHER

A separate memorandum has been written requesting that Mr. Nichols obtain the identity of this lawyer from the subcommittee's records. Appropriate action may be taken with respect to such allegation after receipt of above information by Mr. Nichols.

The 2 Photostats of transcript of testimony are enclosed with this memorandum. Since this testimony took place in Executive Session, the Bureau's possession of it must be kept confidential and it cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau.

ACTION:

It is recommended that the enclosed Photostats of above testimony be forwarded to the Subversive Control Section for review and any further action that may be desirable in connection with the witnesses who invoked the Fifth Amendment. At least one Photostat should be filed with instant memorandum and all names, other than those of subcommittee personnel, should be indexed.

Enclosures

JGS:amj (5)

ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Baumgardner-Blair
- 1 - V.D. Harrington
- 1 - Section

b7C

67 FEB 14 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 30, 1957

FROM : MR. J. F. BLAND

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII
 HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
 SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
 NOVEMBER 30, - DECEMBER 6, 1956
 (VOLUME 1, EXECUTIVE SESSIONS
 "SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN
 UNITED STATES," SECOND SESSION)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

b7C

Reference is made to the memorandum from SA [redacted] to Mr. R. R. Roach dated 1-17-57 which forwarded 2 Photostats of stenographic transcripts of the captioned testimony with a recommendation that the transcripts be reviewed by the Subversive Control Section for any further action deemed desirable.

b7C

OTHER

The referenced memorandum reflects that a separate memorandum had been written requesting Mr. Nichols to obtain

A review of the Executive Session testimony reflects that the following security subjects testified before the subcommittee and all pleaded the 5th Amendment when asked concerning their subversive activities:

[redacted] and [redacted] The only other person to testify in Executive Session was [redacted] and no additional pertinent information other than that mentioned in referenced memorandum was given. OTHER

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be placed in file 62-88217 with referenced memorandum of SA [redacted]

b7C

62-88217

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Bland

cc - [redacted]

cc - V. D. Harrington

VDH:ejp

(5)

16 FEB 1 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MME/ghl

In delivery of testimony
 and 2-88217-2141

RECORDED

62-88217-2142

DUPLICATE

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

February 5, 1957

Director, FBI

RECORDED - 7262-1-211-2143

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE
ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED
STATES SENATE
HONOLULU HEARINGS

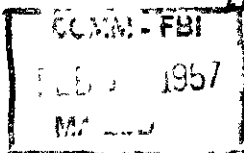
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP-1 Mac/gtt

Reference is made to my letter dated
January 29, 1957, concerning the above-captioned
hearings.

Information has now been received that the
above-mentioned subcommittee will attempt to invoke
the provisions of the Immunity Bill with regard to
[redacted] FBI file 100-38459, and
[redacted] FBI file 100-355749, who were
witnesses before the subcommittee during the Honolulu b7C
hearings and who invoked the Fifth Amendment of the
Constitution when asked about their subversive activities.
All pertinent reports concerning [redacted] and [redacted]
have previously been furnished to the Records
Administration Branch of the Department.

62-88217

NOTE ON YELLOW: Both [redacted] and [redacted] are included in the
SI. Their files are up to date and the Department is b7C
in possession of all pertinent reports concerning them.



cc - 100-38459 [redacted]
cc - 100-355749 [redacted]

b7C

EB 2 12 PM 21

2 DEPT OF JUSTICE

FBI

45 FEB 11 1957

VDH:ejp
(6)

EB 4 11 PM 21

FBI - JUSTICE
RECEIVED

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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DECODED COPY

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

☒ **Radio**

☐ **Teletype**

FROM HONOLULU

2-1-57

NR 010215

TO DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, HONOLULU HEARINGS.
 BUFILE 62-88217. REMYRAD JANUARY 22. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7C
 [REDACTED] PROTECT IDENTITY - ADVISED HE HAD RECEIVED
 LETTER THIS DATE FROM [REDACTED] STATING SUBCOMMITTEE HAD
 NOW DECIDED THEY WILL SEEK TO HAVE IMMUNITY GIVEN TO [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] BUFILE 100-38459, AND [REDACTED]
 BUFILE 100-355749.

RECEIVED:

1:36 AM RADIO

1:40 AM CODING UNIT RB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/84 BY SP-1 [Signature]

RECORDED - 72

1-2143

Mr. Belmont

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

January 28, 1957
2144

[redacted]
Winter Park, Florida

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/16/84 BY 5027-100-974

Dear [redacted] b7C

Mr. Hoover is presently away from the city,
and I am acknowledging your letter of January 17, 1957. I
know he will appreciate your comments relative to the
matter which you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Melen P. Gandy
Secretary

NOTE: Bufile 100-424860 reflects that we have had previous
correspondence with [redacted] a former Congregational clergyman,
[redacted] together with [redacted] whom he mentions as a
close friend, have been conducting a self-style investigation into
alleged communism in and around Winter Park. [redacted] had a dispute
with his [redacted] whom he alleged to be
"left wing," and [redacted] of the Winter Park
Congregational Church. From this, [redacted] launched an all-out
campaign to discredit [redacted] as well as others whom he suspected
as being communists. He and [redacted] contacted an Agent of the Miami
Office on 11/7/56 and presented their information. The only specific
data furnished pertained to one [redacted] formerly of
Cleveland, Ohio. This information was already known by the Bureau.
A previous letter from [redacted] on 11/8/56 was handled by an in-absence
reply due to his overly aggressive nature. A similar reply is deemed
appropriate in this instance. In the incoming [redacted] complains that the
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee does not plan to conduct hearings
in Florida even though he [redacted] furnished it with information and
names of individuals suspected as communists. A similar letter
received from [redacted] dated 1/16/57 was given an in-absence reply on
1/25/57

b7C

CBF:blh
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/84 BY SP7 [redacted] b7C

[redacted]
Winter Park, Florida
January 17, 1957

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I think that a review of some of my past correspondence with you will indicate something of my basic interest. For over ten years I have thrown every ounce of my energy and energy into the struggle with Communism. I think that I can safely say that I have an expert knowledge of Communism both as theory and as it actually operates. I feel that I am especially informed on the subject of infiltration into religion and education. As previous correspondence will show I have devoted myself so completely to this struggle that I have been forced from my profession as a clergyman. Also, I have spent much of my own personal funds in this struggle. However, these problems will soon be solved for I have an offer to join a prominent Wall Street financial organization. This will place me in a stronger position to carry on the fight at an even higher level. I am not burdening you with my personal problems but mention this merely as background for what follows.

In June of 1956 I was invited to appear before the Chief Investigator of the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, [redacted] and share with him some of my observations etc concerning left-wing and Red activity in Florida. This I did willingly at my own expense. I named names and pointed out situations in which it appeared that Red activity was prevalent [redacted] was very enthusiastic and asked that I not act independently but that I cooperate with his group. I was glad to comply. I spent most of last summer and fall in Washington at my own expense engaged in research. Finally, in October of 1956 I went to [redacted] and told him that I had completed my research and was ready for action. [redacted] outlined the following plan: I was to return to Florida and assist the local Junior Chamber of Commerce in preparing and making public the red-front record of one of the city government officials; then I was to prepare my testimony in such a form that I could present it before the Committee, especially my observations concerning my former Associate in the Congregational Church here, [redacted]

RECORDED - 96
INDEXED - 96

21 FEB 5 1957

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EX-100
JAN 20 1957

two

[redacted] next, I was to line up witnesses who would agree to appear before the committee in executive session in Florida and share their observations on the general situation here in Florida. After preparing my own testimony and lining up the witnesses I was instructed NOT to make public my observations concerning [redacted]

[redacted] but to return to Washington and present the information before the committee, thus having it privileged, and then to release it. The most important aspect of the proposal was that after all the above was accomplished we would then have a visit from the Committee and if nothing else happened as a result of their visit that at least certain people down here might take the Fifth Amendment.

b7C

I did exactly as directed. I returned to Washington on January 2, 1957 and reported to [redacted] that the Junior Chamber of Commerce project had been launched and that I had prepared my own testimony in detail. Furthermore, I presented him the names of sixteen (16) citizens who had agreed to appear before the Committee. This group included lawyers, former intelligence officers, a general, business men and even [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] men and women of integrity. Upon return to [redacted] I was amazed to learn that no action was to be expected.

NO ONE can convince me that there is not an intense Red Activity going on in Florida now. I have seen too many records and am fully capable of recognizing Red activity when I see it. I do not want to be unfair with the Committee but it certainly appears to some of us that since this promised investigation involves the clergy that there was a reluctance to go ahead with it. Also, it appears as if there might have been political pressure brought to bear to call it off.

I am not being critical of [redacted] since I have great admiration for him and consider him a good friend. I must admit that I have never had much faith in getting any real good accomplished through such Committees. I read of their hearings and digest their findings but nothing ever seems to come from it. I never asked for Committee help but was willing to cooperate when asked. Having cooperated fully - even to the point where we were confident of action, only to be left dangling "out on a limb" makes one almost tempted to forsake the struggle.

b7C

I know the position of the Bureau by law and know that you can't advise me. I can handle my own personal problems with reference to the [redacted] In fact I would have solved it long ago if I had not waited for the Internal Security Subcommittee to act. But those of us who have worked so hard and so long and have hoped and prayed

b7C

three

for help from Washington and who have been promised help from the Internal Security Subcommittee are puzzled as to why we have been left dangling. We know that there must be other resources available to us. I am sending a copy of this to my friend "Mickey" Ladd. Maybe he might have some suggestions.

[redacted] has also written you about this same matter. [redacted] and I are close friends. b7C

With kindest regards and highest admiration for you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

Copy to :

D. M. Ladd
Carrol Arms Hotel
Washington, D. C.

*I apologize for being such a
non-urgent.*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont *for* *Mr. Belmont* DATE: February 4, 1957
Mr. Branigan

FROM : W. A. Branigan *for* *Liaison* b7C

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY OF [REDACTED] b7C

BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
 JANUARY 18, 1957
 (Volume 74, Executive Session)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Re memo Roach to Belmont 1-24-57, captioned as above, which analyzed captioned testimony taken 1-17-57, as reflected in Volume 73 of the Executive Session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. On 1-18-57, testifier returned and furnished additional data similar to that reviewed in re memo. In addition, he supplied more data concerning his knowledge of [REDACTED] Chicago, and [REDACTED] NYC. b7C

Inasmuch as identity is unknown [REDACTED] is an assumed name utilized to protect his identity, a memorandum Branigan to Belmont dated 1-31-57, was prepared requesting that Mr. Nichols ascertain his identity through the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Subsequent thereto, consideration will be given to interview of testifier to further develop the data he furnished in Executive Session. b7C

Inasmuch as the testimony in the enclosed Photostats occurred in an Executive Session, the Bureau's possession of it must be kept strictly confidential, and information contained in the transcript cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau.

ACTION:

One Photostat should be filed with instant memorandum indexing all names except those of Subcommittee personnel. The additional Photostat should be filed in the main file captioned Unsub, aka [REDACTED] b7C

62-88217

Enclosure

WHS:sao

(9)

cc - 1 - (105-1944) [REDACTED] b7C
 cc - 1 - (105-23720) [REDACTED]
 cc - 1 - (105-New) (Unsub aka, [REDACTED])

RECORDED-6

INDEXED-6

EX-126

FEB 8 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/18/84 BY SP7 J.M.P./J.F.

MAR 13 1957

COPY FILED IN

UNCL

62-

HQ-88217

Serial 2145



62-HQ-88217-E2145

EBF

2145

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE February 5, 1957

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*SUBJECT WALTER WINCHELL'S BROADCAST
FEBRUARY 3, 1957ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Nease	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

With regard to Mr. Belmont's recommendation that I ascertain from the Senate Internal Security Committee the identity of the so-called surprise witness who was a "one-time Red spy high up in Soviet intelligence," I wish to advise that [redacted] tells me on Wednesday they will have [redacted] before the committee. [redacted] will discuss financial matters and the use of Spanish gold by the communists. This was undoubtedly the person Winchell had in mind. (S)(u)

[redacted] also told me on Thursday, February 7, they contemplate having [redacted] who rigged up the typewriter in the Hiss case and who has been carrying on a campaign to discredit [redacted] story of Stalin's acting as a Soviet police spy. (S)(u)

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:rm
(4)

Classified by *SP-1/10/89*
Declassify on: OADR

RECORDED - 14

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *declared*
DATE *5/24/84*

8/1/79
CLASS.
EXEMPT
DATE OF REVIEW

5/18/84
FOIPA 240081

FEB 12 1957

b7C

FEB 13 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: January 24, 1957

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY OF [REDACTED]

b7C

BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
JANUARY 17, 1957 (VOLUME 73, EXECUTIVE SESSION)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Pursuant to request in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you of January 22, 1957, regarding captioned testimony, two Photostats of the stenographic transcript of such testimony have been prepared and are enclosed. The original transcript has been returned to Mr. Nichols for return to the Subcommittee.

A review of this transcript reflects that it consists of the testimony, under oath and through an interpreter, of a [REDACTED] b7C
 [REDACTED]
 His true name does not appear in the transcript but he testified under the fictitious name [REDACTED]

OTHER [REDACTED]

RECORDED-48

OTHER

FEB 11 1957

Enclosures (2)

JGS:bjt (5)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Section Tickler

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

Bufile 62-88217

b7C

MAR 13 1957

DEPT. OF JUSTICE
 CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
 3-30-57 SUBM-151C

AND FIELD OFFICES
 ADVISED BY ROUTING
 SLIP

UNRECORDED COPY FILED
 ALL INFORMATION MADE

Memorandum Mr. Roach to Mr. Belmont

RE: TESTIMONY OF [REDACTED]

b7C

BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

JANUARY 17, 1957 (VOLUME 73, EXECUTIVE SESSION)

Bufile 62-88217

OTHER

[REDACTED]

Inasmuch as the foregoing testimony occurred in an Executive Session, the Bureau's possession of it must be kept strictly confidential and information contained in the transcript cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau.

ACTION:

Route enclosed Photostats to Espionage Section for information and any additional action considered necessary. At least one Photostat should be filed with instant memorandum, indexing all names except those of Subcommittee personnel.

J. Edgar Hoover *W. C. Sullivan*

-2-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2/14

, 1957

TO

___ Director ___ Mr Nease, 5744
 ___ Mr. Tolson, 5744 ___ Miss Gandy, 5633
 ___ Mr Boardman, 5736 ___ Mr Holloman, 5633
 ___ Mr Belmont, 1742
 ___ Mr Mohr, 5517 ___ Records Branch
 ___ Mr. Parsons, 7621 ___ Pers. Records, 6631
 ___ Mr Rosen, 5706 ___ Reading Room, 5531
 ___ Mr Tamm, 5256 ___ Mail Room, 5533
 ___ Mr Trotter, 4130 IB ___ Teletype, 5644
 ___ Mr. Sizoo, 1742 ___ Code Room, 4642
 ___ Mechanical, B-110
 ___ Supply Room, B-216
 ___ Tour Room, 5625
 ___ Mr Nichols, 5640
 ___ Mr McGuire, 5642
 ___ Mr Wick, 5634
 ___ Mr DeLoach, 5636
 ___ Mr. Morgan, 5625
 ___ Mr Jones, 4236
 ___ Mr Leonard, 6222 IB
 ___ Mr Warkart, 7204
 ___ Mr Eames, 7206
 ___ Mr Wherry, 5537

___ See Me
 ___ For Your Info

___ For appropriate ___ Note & Return

action

Mr. Nichols has asked [redacted] about this

but so far [redacted] has been unable to give
him the information.

5834
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/14/83 BY SP7 mac/9/8

L B Nichols
 Room 5640, Ext 691

b7C

7631

b7C

b7C

Office Memo. *Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 14, 1957

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH *R*SUBJECT: TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE, EXECUTIVE SESSIONS,
HONOLULU, T. H., NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 6, 1956

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mason	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you of 1/11/57, forwarding two Photostats of a transcript of captioned testimony.

OTHER

OTHER

ACTION:

It is recommended that Mr. Nichols check with the Subcommittee to obtain from its records the identity of the above

OTHER

Enclosure

JGS:bjt
(5)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section
- 1 -

b7C

RECORDED-82

14 FEB 15 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/94 BY SP-1 Mac/ff

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 1-22-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY
 SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY
 SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The following volume of testimony has been received from the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to my office for return to the Committee:

Volume 73, at Washington, D. C. January 17, 1957

Testimony of [redacted] in Executive Session b7C

LBN:jp

(3)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/84 BY SP.1 Mac

RECORDED-48

FEB 11 1957

MAR 13 1957

100-5-5-90-28-1
 COPY FILED IN

62-

HQ-88217

Serial 2149



HQ-88217-E2149

EBF

2149

End
1727

b7C



b7C

End
1789



Testimony.



End
1710- 1743

b7C





b7C

end
1727
1732
1733
1734





b7C

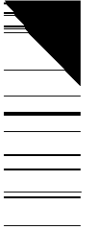
End

1728

1733

1734

1735





b7C

Expt
1730



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: February 15, 1957

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

cc - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Bland

Mr. Harrington

Tolson	✓
Nichols	✓
Boardman	✓
Belmont	✓
Mason	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Nease	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
IMMUNITY ACT OF 1954

b7C

By letter dated 2-12-57 from Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, the Department advised Senator James O. Eastland, chairman, U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary on 2-8-57 stated it is the intention of that committee on 2-18-57 to act on request of Internal Security Subcommittee to authorize grant of immunity to [redacted] and [redacted] all of Honolulu pursuant to provisions of Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 3486 as amended. The Department requested to be advised whether a grant of immunity to these 3 persons would interfere with any current Bureau investigation.

[redacted] and [redacted] testified before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee during hearings in Honolulu from 11-30 through 12-6-56. All 3 invoked 5th Amendment when questioned concerning subversive activities.

b7C

[redacted] is on Security Index. Born [redacted] and claims derivative U. S. citizenship through father. He is partner in law firm of Bouslog and Symonds. He was member of Communist Party (CP) 1943-1946 and member of National Lawyers Guild (NLG) 1937 to date and was one of the organizers of the NLG. He was one of the defense attorneys in the 1952-1953 Smith Act trials in Honolulu and has contributed money to various communist front groups including the Civil Rights Congress, Claude Lightfoot Defense Committee and the "Daily People's World." He has continued his association with communists up to present time.

RECORDED-82

[redacted] is on the Security Index. Born [redacted] and is international representative and publicity director of the Internal Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). He was CP member from 1937 to middle of 1948 and has followed CP line since that date. He broadcasts a news commentary over Honolulu radio week days and follows the communist line. He has attacked Bureau and in 1952, broadcasted incomplete recordings of interview between Agents and union official at which time [redacted] slanted his comments to indicate FBI was attempting to wreck ILWU. He has continued CP associations up to present time.

b7C

[redacted] is on the Security Index. Born [redacted] at Honolulu and operates a liquor store from which he has in the past sold communist propaganda material. He was CP member from 1945 to 1952 and was active in various CP front organizations. From 1949 to 1956, he was sports editor of the "Honolulu Record," a communist controlled newspaper.

b7C

Enclosure sent 2-18-57
62-88217
VDH:ejp
(5)

11-16-90 2085 By [redacted]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAC/JS

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman:

All pertinent reports concerning [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] have previously been furnished to the Records Administration Branch of the Department and it does not appear that a grant of immunity to these 3 individuals would affect any current Bureau investigation.

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached herewith for approval, a letter to Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins advising that grants of immunity to the above 3 individuals would not affect current Bureau investigations.

Handwritten notes and signatures:

- Top left: "1-4 JTB" and "Hill" with a checkmark.
- Top center: "G.M." with a checkmark.
- Bottom center: "OK" with a checkmark and a signature.
- Bottom right: "2" with a checkmark.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

L. V. Boardman cc - Boardman
Belmont
Nichols
Sizoo

February 5, 1957

A. H. Belmont

b7C

b7C

CLASSIFIED BY: SP7 Mac/gt
DECLASSIFY ON: GADR

53672

5/18/84

(TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, VOLUME 76,
EXECUTIVE SESSION, 1/22/57, "SCOPE
OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES")

Above-captioned Committee made available the transcript of
the testimony of [redacted] an attorney residing at Hartford,
Connecticut, given in executive session 1-22-57. b7C

OTHER

Bufiles fail to reflect any information connecting a [redacted]
[redacted] with the [redacted] matter. However, Bufiles reflect that
information had been received by Bureau from [redacted] in August, 1949, that
[redacted] defection was the result of a contact with him by an unknown
employee of the Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation in Bridgeport. Bureau
investigation identified this individual as [redacted] former Security
Index subject of the New Haven Field Division. (Bufile 100-19961) (u)
Investigation of [redacted] disclosed he was reportedly a CP member who
transferred from NYC to Bridgeport in 1935-36 and was identified as a
CP member in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1950. [redacted] was interviewed
in June, 1950, by Bureau Agents. He admitted close friendship with
[redacted] but denied influencing [redacted] defection. The [redacted] case
has been closed since 1953. It would appear that [redacted] was referring
to the information appearing in Bufiles concerning [redacted] and that
[redacted] and [redacted] are the same person.

b2

b7C

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Inasmuch as the Bureau has investigated [redacted] in connection
with his alleged inducement of [redacted] to defect, etc., no additional action
is deemed necessary by the Bureau.

b7C

ACTION:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT RECORDED

17 FEB 8 1957

None. For your information.

62-86217 (Senate Internal Security Subcommittee)

58 FEB 19 1957

PL: jeb

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 2-11-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY

SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The following volume of testimony has been received from the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate action and return to my office for return to the Committee:

b7C

Volume 78, at Washington, D. C., February 8, 1957

Testimony of [REDACTED] in Executive Session

b7C

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp

(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/84 BY SP-1 [signature]

RECORDED - 84

INDEXED - 84
EX-126

11 FEB 19 1957

2/5/

b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 2-8-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/10/84 BY SP-1 MCD/jttSUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The following volume of testimony has been received from the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to my office for return to the Committee:

Volume 85, at Washington, D. C., February 7, 1957

Testimony of [redacted] in Public Session b7C

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp
(3)

RECORDED-45

52 MAR 7 1957
6 MAR 11 1957

Mr. A. H. Belmont

February 11, 1957

Mr. R. R. Rosh

53070

[REDACTED] b7C
(TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, 2/5/57)

Enclosed are two Photostats each of stenographic transcript of subject's testimony before above Senate Subcommittee (Volume 77, Executive Session; Volume 84, Public Session, "Scope of Soviet Activity in United States.")

The Bureau's possession of the Executive Session testimony must be kept confidential and any information contained therein which is not repeated in the Public Session cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau. The original transcripts have been returned to Mr. Nichols for return to the Subcommittee, in accordance with his request in his memorandum to you of 2/7/56 relating to captioned testimony.

NOTE:

Since this testimony relates to a pending matter being supervised in the Espionage Section, enclosures should be referred to that Section for review and for any additional action found necessary. A copy of any memorandum or letter which it may be necessary to prepare in connection with this testimony should be designated for Bureau file 62-88817 which is the control file for the above Subcommittee.

Enclosure
100-388419

ENCLOSURE

162-1-1-1
NOT 1-1-1
4 MAR 4 1957

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-388419

Mr. Belmont

b7C

62-88817

Section

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7-MAC/gh

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-88217)

DATE 2/11/57

FROM : SAC, HONOLULU (62-374)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN HAWAII
 HEARINGS BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
 SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
 NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1956
 (VOLUMES 1 THROUGH 6, "SCOPE
 OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN U. S.,"
 SECOND SESSION)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/84 BY SP-1 MAF/glt

Rebulet 1/31/57, inquiring if this office is in possession of list of names of over 100 card-carrying Communists allegedly received by Judge INGRAM STAINBACK from [redacted] in 1947. b7C

On 2/8/57, [redacted] Executive, Commission on Subversive Activities to the Legislature Territory of Hawaii, advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] Counsel for the above-captioned Subcommittee, had showed him the list of alleged Communist members made available to [redacted] by Judge STAINBACK during the course of the Subcommittee's hearings in Hawaii in 1956. [redacted] stated that he had not bothered to obtain a copy of the list, inasmuch as he felt that it was old, unreliable, and contained no information not already in the possession of his office and federal investigative agencies in Honolulu. b7C

The same date Judge STAINBACK advised that during 1947 [redacted] had made available to him a list of Communist members, liberals, Communist suspects, and Communist sympathizers. STAINBACK stated that he had furnished the list of Communist members to [redacted] of the House Subcommittee. He made available a 19-page list entitled "Communist Members" and stated that he believed that it was identical with the list furnished to [redacted] [redacted] stenographer pointed out, however, that after the list had been received by STAINBACK from the Army, additions, deletions and corrections had been made to the list during the years. b7C

A review of the list of Communist members furnished by Judge STAINBACK to this office on 2/8/57 indicates that

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 1 - Honolulu

RECORDED - 72

INDEXED 72

FEB 13 1957

LSB:eim

52 FEB 19 1957 FY-125
 APR 19 1957

HN 62-374

it is identical with a list he made available to this office in August of 1949. This list is also identical with photographs the Los Angeles Office furnished to the Bureau on 4/25/49 in a letter entitled "Communist Party, USA, District 13, Honolulu Division, Legislative Activities, Internal Security - C". The photographs furnished by the Los Angeles Office were received from State Senator JACK B. TENNEY and included Communist members, page 1 to 19; Communist fellow travelers, page 1 to 13; Communist sympathizers, page 1 to 6. The material furnished by Judge STAINBACK to the House Subcommittee is contained in the 19 pages of photographs covering Communist members.

It is not believed any action is necessary in this matter.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 18, 1957

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

5/16/84 BY SP-12/2/94

SUBJECT:

DELEGATE

b7C

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENT
(TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE 2/7-8/57)

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Pursuant to the request in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you of 2/8/57 regarding captioned testimony (Volume 85, Public Session) two Photostats of stenographic transcript of such testimony have been prepared and are enclosed. The original transcript has been returned to Mr. Nichols for return to the Subcommittee.

The witness testified that he arrived in the United States on 1/1/57 and he presented to the Subcommittee credentials reflecting that he is one of 20 members of the "Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament" and that he is its delegate to the United States and to the United Nations for the purpose of enlisting support for the struggle of the Hungarian people against the USSR.

The witness identified himself as a former soldier in the Hungarian Army during World War II when he fought on the side of the Axis and described many incidents of his arrest by Russian and other communist forces during the post war period.

The witness made the claim that the Kadar Government of Hungary has not more than 1,000 adherents in Hungary and that the rest of the 9 million people in Hungary are behind the revolutionary parliament. The witness predicted that if aid to the Hungarian people to help them throw off Russian domination and to permit them to elect a representative government is not forthcoming from the western nations or from the United Nations, that the people of Hungary will then resort to force, sabotage and armed revolt.

The witness also testified the following day and his testimony is in Volume 86, Public Session, dated 2/8/57, but this testimony is merely a summary of the testimony appearing in Volume 85.

ACTION:

INDEXED-13

RECORDED-45

File enclosed Photostats for future information, indexing all names except those of Subcommittee personnel.

Enclosures

INDEXED-16

JGS:bjt (5)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Callahan
Bufile 62-88217

1 - Section

1 -

b7C

67 MAR 12 1957

EBF

2153

HQ-88217

62-

Serial 2153



EBF

62-HQ-88217-E2153

103

The United States Senate

Report of Proceedings

Hearing held before

Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the
Internal Security Act and Other Internal
Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

February 7, 1957

Washington, D. C.

WARD & PAUL

1760 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NATIONAL { 8-4266
8-4267
8-4268
8-4269

BD 1000

1000 219-2153

C O N T E N T STESTIMONY OFPAGE

Dezso Fonagy,
(Through Louis Van Cseh, Interpreter)

4331

Page numbers at which material is to be inserted:

4356

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

- - -

Thursday, February 7, 1957

United States Senate,
Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration
of the Internal Security Act and Other
Internal Security Laws, of the
Committee on the Judiciary,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a.m.,
in Room 424 Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator Roman L. Hruska (Acting Chairman),
presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, Chief Counsel, and William
A. Rusher, Associate Counsel.

- - -

Senator Hruska. The committee will come to order.

This subcommittee has been trying to learn the true facts
about the Hungarian uprising so that we can know the nature
of world communism and its manifestations here in this country.

Accordingly, we have asked two witnesses, who we deem to
be quite competent, to testify in that regard. We will first
administer the interpreter's oath, inasmuch as I understand
the two witnesses cannot express themselves in English.

Will you state your name?

Mr. Von Cseh. My name is Louis Von Cseh.

Senator Hruska. Will you stand, please, and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that you will truly interpret to the witness the questions directed to him and will truly interpret the answers given by the witness, to the best of your ability, so help you God?

Mr. Von Cseh. I do, so help me God.

Senator Hruska. Now, will the witnesses stand. Maybe we can swear the two of them together.

Do you, and each of you, solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Fonagy. So help me God.

Mr. Jeno Szeredasi. So help me God.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Fonagy will be the first witness.

TESTIMONY OF DEZSO FONAGY,

(THROUGH LOUIS VON CSEH, INTERPRETER)

Mr. Morris. Will you give your name to the reporter.

The Interpreter. His name is Dezso Fonagy.

Mr. Morris. Now, how long have you been in the United States?

The Interpreter. January 1, 1957.

Mr. Morris. And by what means did you arrive in the

United States?

The Interpreter. By aeroplane.

Mr. Morris. I see.

When did you leave Hungary?

The Interpreter. He says, December 18, 1956.

Mr. Morris. December 18, 1956?

The Interpreter. December 18, 1956.

Mr. Morris. Now, you bear with you, do you not, the credentials of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament?

The Interpreter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Morris. Now, will you present those credentials to Senator Hruska, who is presiding here today?

(A document was handed to Senator Hruska.)

The Interpreter. He is begging the Senate to not disclose the names, the signatures; everything else but the signatures.

Mr. Morris. Yes. I will explain that to the Senator.

Senator Hruska, this witness says he will allow, he will be willing, without objection, this go into the record as it is except for the people who are now in Hungary, their names, who are the representatives of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament, because to give their names would be tantamount to a death sentence, if those names were set out.

He has made a copy of that same paper, which is identical in every respect, except that the names of those actually in

Hungary at that time do not appear here.

Senator Hruska. The exhibit will be received for the record in its censored form, if we can put it that way, Judge Morris.

Mr. Morris. Thank you, Senator.

Now, you are willing that the representations herein go into the record?

The Interpreter. He says yes.

Mr. Morris. And the name Csepel Iron Works, and so on?

The Interpreter. Yes; all of those can be on it, with the exception of the signatures, which were omitted from that English translation.

Mr. Morris. Senator, may I please read that into the record at this time?

Senator Hruska. Yes; please do.

Mr. Morris. "Authorization.

"The Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament (functioning underground) hereby appoints Dezso Fonyai, Dezso Pragai, and Doctor Balaz Janko, members of the Committee, as its delegates to the United States and to all the member nations of the United Nations, in order to inform them of the creation this day of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament, as well as of its objectives. We, the Revolutionary Parliament, through our above representatives, wish to call attention to the tragic plight of our beloved Hungarian people at the hands of

the hated USSR. Also, to implore the heads of all freedom-loving nations to lend us their much-needed support in our struggle for freedom and justice.

"Our representative carry our solemn pledge to the Free World that we will not cease fighting until Hungary will be free of ALL its enemies!

"SIGNED: Revolutionary Workers Council of Greater Budapest:

Csepel Iron Works Mav, Ganz, Egyesult Izzo,
Standard, Kispesti, Lorinci, Ujpesti, Rakospalota,
Kabelgyar, Lampagyar

"Peasants and Farm Workers:

"Revolutionary Council of Students and Intellectuals:
of Greater Hungary

"Dated and signed in Budapest, November 22, 1956."

The original copy is on file.

Now, I wonder if you will read and translate the places that are represented on the Council.

The Interpreter. Csepel Iron Works; Mav, which means the Hungarian Government steel factory; Ganz means Ganz Iron Works, Electrical Works, et cetera; the Egyesult Izzo, Lamp Works, incandescent lamp works of Hungary; and there is Standard, evidently an American subsidiary, or something; then the Kispesti, which was a small town which is now connected to Budapest with a separate -- which has its own Revolutionary Council, which is a member of this Parliament; and

ao 6
then there is Iorinci, which was also another town outside of Budapest, which is also connected now to Greater Budapest under 19 districts; Ujpesti, which is another town outside of Budapest; Rakospalotai, which is also another town close by Budapest; and then the Kabelgyar, which is the manufacture of wires, cables, et cetera, electrical cables; then the Lampagyar, which is a factory where they manufacture lamps, et cetera.

Then, the Peasants and Farm Workers of Greater Hungary; then the Revolutionary Council of Students and Intellectuals of Greater Hungary.

Mr. Morris. Now, will you tell us the meaning of this authorization?

The Interpreter. Would you -- He wants to know if you gentlemen care to ask him and to explain the way this Parliament was created.

Mr. Morris. Precisely; all the circumstances leading up to his authorization to come to the United States to speak for the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament.

The Interpreter. I think we have enough to go ahead. Now, we are going to make the chart, he was going to (indicating), but he was interrupted, he was going to make a chart to show you exactly.

Mr. Morris. Well, maybe he can complete that when the next witness is on the stand.

The Interpreter. Well, he (indicating) was going to do it.

Mr. Morris. Maybe while he is waiting he can make it up.

Pass (2)
ps fls no

The Interpreter. It is right there. He has been working on it and in maybe 10 minutes he can finish it.

Sir, Mr. Fonagy states that in November, around the middle of November, when the Hungarian freedom fighters, which we were called up to that time, saw that there was no hope of any United Nations help for the cessation of the murder, et cetera, against the Hungarians by the Russians in all over the country, they decided that they were going to take the situation in their hands and people were elected in every district throughout Hungary and greater Budapest and they created this Parliament who would actually take up the fight of the people and the administration of the government.

Mr. Morris. You say they did this because they realized the United Nations were not going to carry on --

The Interpreter. Its obligations or its function as it was meant to function as the United Nations.

So they elect, each district from their leadership elected five members which were sent up to Budapest in this revolutionary Parliament, and these people would consist of a total of -- (addressing Mr. Fonagy) how many?

From each one of these sections, like industrial workers, the farm workers and the peasantry, the university students, the intellectuals of great Hungary, sent up five members in to the Parliament.

The total membership of this Parliament consisted of 20

s 2

members, of which he is one of the members.

Mr. Morris. You are one of the members of this revolutionary Parliament?

The Interpreter. Yes. He is representing the industrial workers.

Mr. Morris. Now, when was this Parliament constituted?

The Interpreter. This was between November 18th and November 22d.

Mr. Morris. Now, did you function as a member of this Parliament until you left Hungary on December 18, 1956?

The Interpreter. Up to November 12 they all were fighting, when they started to organize the revolutionary Parliament he was very active until the date he left Hungary to represent the revolutionary Parliament to the West.

Mr. Morris. Now, did you come to the United States in order to stay here or is it your intention to return to Hungary?

The Interpreter. He states that if the United Nations would not fulfill its obligations as it was organized to do, or the West will not give any help to the Hungarian cause, then he would sooner that he goes back and fights there than stay here or than anywhere in the world die with the rest of those Hungarians.

Mr. Morris. Now, in other words, you are here in a refugee capacity, is that right?

The Interpreter. He is not over here as a refugee but

ps 3

he is sent out as a delegate from the Parliament, revolutionary Parliament.

Mr. Morris. Now, what have you done since you have been in the United States?

The Interpreter. Since he came he made several attempts to see Mr. Lodge to take up the Hungarian -- present his credentials in the Hungarian cause, but Mr. Lodge was busy and in the meantime he contacted some of the United Nations representatives who were championing the Hungarian cause in the United Nations and spoke to them.

Mr. Morris. Who were they?

The Interpreter. One was the Cuban representative.

Mr. Morris. Who were they, tell us who they were.

The Interpreter. Nunez-Portuondo, Cuban delegate to the United Nations.

Mr. Morris. And he is the Cuban delegate to the United Nations?

The Interpreter. Yes. (addressing witness) And who else?

Miss Palmer, you have the names of these delegates he has already contacted -- the Uruguay delegate?

Miss Martha G. Palmer. He contacted, I think, all of the South American countries' permanent representatives on the United Nations.

Mr. Morris. Give him the list of them.

ps 4

Miss Palmer. I don't have the list but I can get it so it will be included in the record.

The Interpreter. This is the Uruguay representative, Rodriguez Fabregat. That is the Uruguay representative. And I contacted the Chinese representative, Dr. Yen, and I have spoken only on the telephone yesterday, but he was very busy and he is requesting we go and see him as soon as he gets back from New York.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, would it be in order at this time -- it will take about five or ten minutes -- if I read the exchange of correspondence into the record at this time between Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Committee and Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge? Senator, it will give the preface to this particular hearing, by way of what this Subcommittee has been doing in this particular field and bring the situation up to date.

Senator Hruska. That will be in order. Will you please proceed?

Mr. Morris. Senator Eastland's letter dated January 17, 1957 is as follows:

"Dear Ambassador Lodge:

"I am transmitting herewith the transcripts of the sworn testimony of seven Hungarian escapees. This testimony is evidence of the savage acts of aggression on the part of Soviet officials against the Hungarian people. Some of the

pg 5

details are so harrowing and bestial that we could not even put them into the official record. However, those that are in the official record reflect a savagery that is, to put it mildly, inconsistent with the professed purposes of the United Nations.

"As you know, we have been transmitting to the Department of State other transcripts such as these, all abundantly reflecting acts and deeds of aggression which are, as of this moment, unpunished and only ineffectually deplored by the United Nations. Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.), who presided at all of these hearings, has repeatedly but unavailingly asked the United Nations to hear this evidence. Added up, it is irrefutable proof of aggression on the part of the Soviet Union against the people of Hungary.

"As far as we have been able to observe here in Washington, the only visible reaction on the part of the United Nations has been to dissolve the observation team which it had set up to go into Hungary to learn the facts. It appears that efforts are presently being made to bring this evidence before the forum of the United Nations, but as yet we have seen no tangible results. We would appreciate hearing from you exactly what steps are being taken by the United States to insure that the United Nations will pursue the Hungarian issue.

"These transcripts which the Subcommittee makes in connection with its primary function of making a record on the

ps 6

nature of the Communist organization for the Senate of the United States, are being sent to you because we feel that in the hands of the Chief Delegate to the United Nations, they may be used effectively to bring about a situation where justice will be satisfied and confidence in the work of the United Nations will be restored.

"Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), a member of the Subcommittee, in a letter to the State Department which we asked to be transmitted to you, has observed the great disparity between the reaction of the United Nations in connection with the aggression in the Middle East and its reaction to the Soviet aggression against Hungary. I feel that the fact that the United Nations allows this disparity to stand on the record to be seen by the whole world, goes a long way toward undermining confidence in that world body.

"Trusting that these and other transcripts will be of use to you, I am

"Very sincerely yours,

/s/ "James O. Eastland, Chairman

"Internal Security Subcommittee."

On January 26, 1957 Ambassador Lodge replied:

"Dear Senator Eastland:

"Thank you for your letter of January 17, enclosing transcripts of the hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee, dated January 15, on Soviet repression of the

ps 7

Hungarian people.

"In my opinion these transcripts represent precisely the type of testimony which will be valuable to the newly established United Nations Special Committee on Hungary, and I shall transmit them to that committee along with such other relevant transcripts as your subcommittee makes available to the State Department. The United Nations committee was established by the General Assembly by a resolution adopted January 10, a copy of which I enclose for your information.

"Also enclosed is a copy of the Assembly's resolution of December 12, which by a vote of 55 to 8 condemned Soviet actions in Hungary -- the strongest condemnation the United Nations has ever voted against one of its members.

"In your letter you ask me 'exactly what steps are being taken by the United States to insure that the United Nations will pursue the Hungarian issue.' The establishment of the committee I just mentioned, with representatives from Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, is designed to make sure that the Soviet assault on the Hungarian people is not forgotten either by the United Nations or by world opinion. The United States Delegation took a leading part in the movement to have this committee established. Fifty-nine nations voted to set up the Committee; and only the Soviet Union and its satellites voted against it.

"In the light of the foregoing, it is inaccurate to say,

ps 8

as you said in your letter, that 'the only visible reaction on the part of the United Nations has been to dissolve the observation team which it had set up to go into Hungary to learn the facts.' The committee I mentioned was established to replace a group previously appointed by the Secretary General which was dissolved at its own request. The new committee gives every evidence of taking its job seriously. The United States intends to submit a great deal of information to it, and to facilitate the appearance before it of recent Hungarian refugees now in this country.

"I note your reference to Senator Jenner's statement about the 'disparity between the United Nations actions in the Hungarian question and in the Middle Eastern question,' a view with which you associate yourself. The disparity you refer to is obvious, and derives mainly from the fact that Britain, France and Israel are civilized nations which responded to the conscience of the world as expressed through the United Nations, whereas the Soviet Union is willing to defy that same expression of world opinion.

"However, it must not be supposed that the debates and resolutions in the United Nations have been ineffective. For the first time many Middle Eastern and Asian countries, which had hitherto been uncommitted on differences between the free and the communist worlds, have voted in the United Nations to condemn the Soviet Union and to set up an investigating com-

ps 9

mittee to publicize Soviet crimes.

"Moreover, we have been advised that pressures brought to bear through the United Nations caused the Soviet Union to stop its mass deportations of Hungarian citizens.

"In your letter you refer to repeated requests by Senator Johnston to the United Nations to hear the evidence on this question collected by the Internal Security Subcommittee. I have not received any such request, but I am glad to learn that we will have the benefit of this material as part of the United States contribution to the United Nations investigation.

"It may well seem that no United Nations action, short of war, would be adequate when measured against the heroic sacrifices of the Hungarian freedom fighters. However, in the long run, they may prove to have struck a mortal blow against the whole communist system. The United States Delegation to the General Assembly, and I personally, have, I believe, lost no opportunity in the future.

"Sincerely yours,

/s/ "Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr."

And Senator Eastland acknowledged that on January 31, 1957:

"Dear Mr. Ambassador:

"Thank you for your full letter of January 26th.

"I have noted with some satisfaction that since my letter

ps 10

of January 17th the committee established by the General Assembly, through a resolution adopted January 10th has begun to take testimony. It was precisely with a view toward this eventuality that the Subcommittee has been transmitting to you on November 19th and to the State Department on December 20th the transcripts of the hearings. Naturally we are delighted that the United Nations is now taking this testimony. I am also gratified to learn of your sanguine expectations with respect to the determination of the United Nations in keeping alive the savagery of the Soviet conquest of Hungary which you deplore.

"Thanking you for your response on this very serious issue, I am

"Sincerely yours,

/s/ "James O. Eastland, Chairman."

Now, Mr. Chairman, this witness who I believe arrived here on January 1 is the latest representative witness we have been able to speak to on this whole subject.

I wonder if you could tell us, Mr. Fornagy, of any deportations, acts of deportation against Hungarian people that you know of, based on your own experiences in Hungary.

The Interpreter. He knows of two deportations in which he participated, in their flight to freedom; in one place by the name of Czegle -- actually, the revolutionary Parliament tore up the railroad tracks so they cannot proceed --

ps 11

however, those they could not free.

And then, another city by the name of Godolo, which is a few miles outside Budapest, they actually broke open railroad cars and freed 340 university students which were on their way to be taken to Russia, they freed those.

And, naturally, many trains they could not open up and could not help, but these they actually halted and he took participation, in which they succeeded in freeing, and in others they tore up railroad tracks, but they were in such numbers they wouldn't be able to do it.

Senator Hruska. Would the witness be able to estimate the number of trains which were observed but which had gone on their way?

The Interpreter. They had their people at the border at Zahony and from where they got reports of -- this was just for a short time -- they got reports of five trains which passed by which they couldn't help and each train had between 400 to 600 students in them which they could not halt or could not break open. This part is definite that he knows.

However, there are stories about more which he does not care to state because he has no evidence of it.

Senator Hruska. What dates were those four or five observed?

The Interpreter. This was in the last part of November and first part of December of 1956.

Senator Hruska. What kind of cars were they, regular passenger cars or were they box cars?

The Interpreter. They were actually wagons that transport horses and cattle, they usually fit 40 people, I think, each wagon.

Yes, he says they have the sign on them, 6 horses or 40 people on each one of those wagons and so each one of these trains must have consisted of 10 to 12 wagons, each train.

Senator Hruska. Were there women as well as men?

The Interpreter. These were mostly young people, students

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and 17-year old people, et cetera.

He says he actually has spoken to several of these young people who escaped from Russia, the ones that were deported that escaped, and he also has spoken to several people who were too young -- (after speaking to Mr. Fonagy) -- a few were 15, 16 years old that they released after some pressure was given somewhere, were released back to Hungary.

Senator Hruska. Before taking them on board the trains?

The Interpreter. No, after they got to Russia, they were released after; 16, 17-year old boys, he actually spoke to many of those.

Senator Hruska. Were any of the escapees those that are refugees in this country, as far as the witness knows?

The Interpreter. With his knowledge with the Hungarian National Council, there are several on record and the ones that were released from Russia from the prison, being too young.

Mr. Morris. Do you know, when these young people are deported and sent to the Soviet Union, do you know where in the Soviet Union or where in the far-flung Soviet Empire these people were forced to work?

The Interpreter. He says he has been around those sections, around Vladivostok and the Urals where they have the lead mines and that is where they claim they took them. However, he has not seen it. He was there previous to that.

Mr. Morris. He was there previously?

ejw3

The Interpreter. He was there previously, because he was fighting during the war.

And from 1942 to 1944 they were taken into Russia and they were used for fighting these Hungarians.

Mr. Morris. You, yourself?

The Interpreter. He was there, yes.

Mr. Morris. Will you tell us briefly your experiences in the Soviet Union?

The Interpreter. He says that was one of the reasons that he, as soon as -- the first opportunity he had, he started fighting against Soviet oppression, he had seen Soviet Russia while he was there as a soldier. He says among many things --

Mr. Morris. Now, you were a member of the Hungarian Division that fought with the Russians, is that right?

The Interpreter. Oh, he was fighting against the Russians.

Mr. Morris. I see. And then you were taken prisoner by them?

The Interpreter. No, they never took him prisoner.

Mr. Morris. Well, tell us about your experiences.

The Interpreter. He says this is what his experience was:

Naturally, in the last 15 years, he says in Hungary they were teaching the blessings of communism, and over there he has seen what the "Blessings" is. Outside of Moscow the

ejw4

people were living with pigs and goats and chickens, maybe there were 8 or 9 of them shoved into one room, they were living there, cooking there, sleeping there, and they never knew about a bath, et cetera.

And as soon as he had the opportunity of enlightening the Hungarian people of the Soviet -- that they really started doing it from 1948 on.

Senator Bruska. What was he doing in Russia?

The Interpreter. Well, he was fighting the Russians with the Hungarians, he was fighting there and while fighting he had the opportunity to be in these villages and towns where there is no glitter like in Moscow.

Mr. Morris. Fighting with whom?

The Interpreter. With the Germans, Hungarians, Italians and Germans were fighting there.

Mr. Morris. Now, were you, yourself, a prisoner of the Soviet Union at any time?

The Interpreter. He was never a prisoner of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Morris. Now, were you a prisoner of the Ukrainian Communist Government in the postwar period?

The Interpreter. Yes, he was.

He was first taken prisoner by the Ukrainian Secret Police, which they called AVO, in 1949.

He was imprisoned for six days and he escaped.

ejw5

And then they caught him again in 1950 on February 8, also for a few days and he escaped again and kept on -- and then in 1951 they caught up with him again and for seven months he was tortured at the AVO headquarters, which is the Ukrainian Secret Police, and then he escaped again and then they caught him again in 1953.

In 1953, then, they were -- from 1953 until October 31, 1956, he was continuously in confinement.

Senator Hruska. Where?

The Interpreter. In Hungary.

Senator Hruska. Where in Hungary?

The Interpreter. In seven different prisons. Among these there were two slave labor camps in the mines, one by the name of Tatabanya --

Mr. Morris. This was a slave labor camp in Hungary, now?

The Interpreter. Yes, and this is at Tatabanya -- I am going to write it down, these slave labor camps in these mines. Tatabanya and Csolnok. These are the two places where he was in forced-labor camps.

Senator Hruska. Getting back to those deportation trains, what was the source of his information that these trains went to Vladivostok, to the lead mines?

The Interpreter. His information is personal, his years while he was in Russia between 1942 and 1944, all the prisoners which were taken by the Russians were taken to Vladivostok,

ejw6

lead mines to work -- the Hungarians, Italians or Germans, they all were taken there -- and that is his assumption, they took all these other ones there.

Senator Hruska. So the information is not based on direct reports?

The Interpreter. No. No direct reports, yes -- he had direct reports but he was not present so he could not say.

Mr. Morris. Now, I wonder if you would describe some of the tortures you were subjected to -- this was by the Hungarian Communist Government, I am speaking of.

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ejw (4)

The Interpreter. In 1948, when they starting arresting, like Magr. Varga, who is here now at the Ukranian National Council, that is when he started into the whole Ukranian underground revolutionary movement, to work in it.

There were certain tortures there he had been subjected to, but due to the fact of these ladies, it is very hard to explain, see?

(After speaking to witness.)

All right, this is the most ridiculous thing you ever heard, but it can be true, the effects are on him, the evidence, and due to the fact there are ladies here, I don't know how to explain it, unless you gentlemen want me to, the biggest torture.

Mr. Morris. What don't you describe it, if you can, without too many specific details?

The Interpreter. For instance, they undressed him and they put him on a table and they had thumbtacks into his skin, and they were beating him to disclose the other members of the council, and -- well, I think this is the most terrible thing, and then they tied his hands to his feet and for 75 days they kept him like that --

Mr. Morris. Seventy-five days?

The Interpreter. Seventy-five days, day and night, they wouldn't release him, tied his hands to his feet and he had to just hop like that and crawl with these shackles on him

continuously, seventy-five days and seventy-five nights -- and then they knocked his teeth out, kicked his teeth out, cracked his skull and they did many of these -- well, indescribable tortures.

Mr. Morris. Now, tell me, was this done by the Hungarian Secret Police or was it done under the supervision of the Soviet overlords?

The Interpreter. Everytime when he was tortured like that, like for instance in 1950, between March 15 and 17, he was subjected to very much torture by General Peter Gabor. That was the same man that --

Mr. Morris. Spell that name?

The Interpreter. General Gabor, G-a-b-o-r -- in the company of eight other Hungarian generals and one Soviet general. The Soviet general was directing what to do and how to torture and he was the directing agent of this whole group.

Mr. Morris. Senator, I think that would be of particular interest to the committee, because that would be an act of aggression on the part of the members of the Soviet organization against the Hungarian people and Hungarian Government.

Senator Hruska. How was he able to identify the Soviet general?

The Interpreter. First, he was in a Russian general's

ws3'

uniform. Second, he spoke and gave the instructions in Russian, and he (indicating Mr. Fonagy) understands Russian.

Mr. Morris. Now, I wonder if you could identify this paper.

The Interpreter. Yes. He has one of these.

Mr. Morris. I see. Now, what is this? Will you tell us what this paper is?

The Interpreter. This is a document which was given to each one of these people, the ones that were in these forced-labor camps, they were given by the Miners Revolutionary Council that released them from prison.

Mr. Morris. Do you know what prison he was released from?

The Interpreter. That was Csolmok.

Mr. Morris. I see, and this is the actual release that you received from this particular prison camp?

The Interpreter. Yes, and on here it states that he has served five years, seven months and fifteen days for instigating the overthrow of the Soviet Government, overturn of the Soviet Government, that is what is says here.

Mr. Morris. I see. Now, when did he serve in that particular prison camp?

The Interpreter. He was moved to this labor camp July 1956 and he was at this particular labor camp until October 1956.

ws4 Mr. Morris. 1956?

The Interpreter. Yes.

Mr. Morris. I see.

Mr. Chairman, may I offer that particular document for the record?

Now, we have what appears to be -- this is the form that is filled out, is it not? (Exhibiting.)

The Interpreter. Yes.

Mr. Morris. May we take your original, which is your actual certificate, is it not, and you will so testify right now, which you just handed to Senator Hruska?

The Interpreter. Yes, sir, he will.

Mr. Morris. Senator, may we take this original and conform this, which appears to be a copy of the form? This is a copy of the form?

The Interpreter. It is not this (indicating), but it is a copy of such form, yes.

Mr. Morris. I see, and will you conform this with the original and may that go into our record, Senator -- photostats will be just as well.

Senator Hruska. The exhibit will be received in the record in photostatic form.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

(COMMITTEE INSERT)

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Mr. Morris. Now, I wonder if you could tell us what is the outlook, what is the intention of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament with respect to the future?

The Interpreter. When the Parliament was organized November 19, between the 18th and 22nd of November 1956, they decided that -- they took up the fight, going underground and started to direct the movements of the Hungarian people.

But then they, the people of Hungary, decided that the promised help which was to be given to the revolutionaries was not forthcoming, so they had to take it in their hands.

I just asked him, why did they assume that help was coming from the West, why should they believe that and he answered they believed the United Nations' structure is such that they would go to the help of oppressed people.

They thought as soon as the Suez question was settled then the Hungarian question was going to be settled.

Senator Hruska. Now, Mr. Interpreter, you used the words "promised help."

The Interpreter. That is right.

Senator Hruska. Are those the words that the witness used?

The Interpreter. He says they believed that the United Nations was set up -- it was to defend the oppressed, the small, that is why they assumed.

Senator Hruska. So it was not a promise from any

individuals or any radio broadcast --

The Interpreter. No, he did not say that.

Senator Hruska. Or any representatives, it was an assumption?

The Interpreter. No, he does not say that.

Senator Hruska. I just wanted that point cleared up.

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The Interpreter. Well, they tried to make contacts with the Kadar government, and in this contact they tried to reason -- to come to some conclusion so that from the revolution something could be saved, some accomplishment that the revolution may have accomplished could be.

Mr. Morris. Now, you say the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament did make contact with the Kadar government in order to save something from the revolutionary activity?

The Interpreter. He was one of the representatives to go ahead and try to deal with the Kadar government, to save something of it.

Mr. Morris. Well, tell us what happened.

The Interpreter. When it was on the Radio, on the Hungarian Radio, that the workers, representatives of Munkacz -- farmers -- they had the headquarters of the Ukrainian iron workers, where the Radio said they had the right to -- to select of their representatives and they were going to listen to their grievances, and et cetera.

Senator Hruska. Did they meet, did they actually meet?

The Interpreter. Yes, they met.

Mr. Morris. Tell us what happened.

The Interpreter. They gathered together from 28 different big factories and three mining sections, representatives, they gathered in one of the big places of these Hungarian iron workers.

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And then they told them that this is not a legal place, or a legal body, but there is another one somewhere else where there is a meeting going on.

Senator Bruska. Who told them that?

The Interpreter. Well, they always had these Secret Police people around, buy them out --

Mr. Morris. Let me see if I understand that. This was a meeting between the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament and representatives of the Kadar regime?

The Interpreter. This was where all these representatives were going to select a committee and go up to Kadar, they hadn't gone to Kadar yet.

So, while this meeting was in progress to select the representatives, the ones that were going to go to the Kadar government, the word was passed that a couple of streets down below there was another meeting which was more attended -- then, they are always trying to interrupt them, so 150 from that meeting proceeded over here to this other street, and at this other street there were Russian soldiers with machine guns.

So, when they arrived, these Russian soldiers put their machine guns in readiness, while they told them to go ahead, "Have your meeting, we are not going to do anything," and in about half an hour the Kadar government's representatives came and they were apologizing for the Russian soldiers with

203

the guns, and they says, "Look, we are with you, and we are sending them away."

Then the Kadar government representatives sent away the Russian soldiers.

That was the first and the last contact they had with the Kadar government, because while the soldiers were gone away, they left also, and they had to go and went back to the underground.

Mr. Morris. Was that the answer to your request of the Kadar government?

The Interpreter. No; they were not interested.

Well, their first demand was that the Soviet troops have to leave Budapest because there were no factory workers will go back to work until the Soviets aren't there.

Also, please to remove the tanks and the Soviet troops from Budapest because the workers were afraid to go to work, because on every corner, street corner, were tanks and machine guns and Soviet troops.

Mr. Morris. In other words, the Kadar government did not listen to your request to have some accommodation between themselves and you?

The Interpreter. Instead of that, next day on the Hungarian Radio the Kadar government issued a statement, in which statement they stated that twenty factory representatives were together and they had meetings, and they decided that all

a0 4

the workers were going back to work.

Mr. Morris. In other words, it was a false report of what actually took place, and you know it was false because you were present?

The Interpreter. So he says, yes; he was there when this happened, and they were betrayed again -- among them they had many of these informers and these Secret Police people, evidently, and just -- the idea was they had met together and the people knew of this committee's meeting, and the only decision they ever brought was that the workers should go back to work, and then they were to get together again after they went to work.

Mr. Morris. Now -- Have you finished?

The Interpreter. Yes.

Mr. Morris. I wonder if you will tell us, you as the representative of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament here in the United States, will you tell us how many people in Hungary you think you speak for?

The Interpreter. He says that he testifies, and every Hungarian knows, that the Kadar government hasn't got more than about 1,000 followers in Hungary, and the rest of the 9 million are behind the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament. He himself was one of the organizers who was sent out to the farms to get the peasants, and the peasants are 100 per cent behind this Parliamentary government, which is their elected

ao 5 underground leadership.

Mr. Morris. So it is your contention here you represent 90-some -- that you are the spokesman of some 90-some-per cent of the Hungarian people?

The Interpreter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Morris. Now, I wonder if you would tell us what you expect to do, what the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament expects to do in the coming days, in view of all of the circumstances which now exist?

The Interpreter. He says he is getting very much complaint that the Revolutionary Parliament thinks that he is not doing enough to help the Hungarian cause --

Mr. Morris. You hear from that inside Hungary?

The Interpreter. No. He is in contact continuously.

Mr. Morris. Yes.

The Interpreter. What they want to do, and nothing happens, and it is getting to be a month since he has been away.

And the Revolutionary Parliament actually stated the following -- now, there is a date set, but he doesn't know the date, in the near future in which, if by then nothing has been done by the United Nations or the West to free Hungary from the Soviet troops, then they are going to start sabotage, blow up everything and put Hungary in a chaos, because the Hungarian people will not give up the fight, they are not

going -- if they have to -- if they are going to be ex-
terminated they are not going to live under the Soviet yoke
any longer.

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Mr. Morris. So, in other words, your testimony is that unless the United Nations or the West, generally, does something to aid the plight of the Hungarian people, that the Hungarians are going to take it to themselves to force some kind of a second uprising in the near future?

The Interpreter. Yes. His contention is, and his representation to the Revolutionary Parliament is that if the United Nations and the West will not help them, then the third phase of the revolution is going to start, in which there is going to be a finish fight, either the extermination of the Hungarian people or the exit of the Soviet oppressors from Hungary.

Mr. Morris. Now, was the original revolt -- what was the cause of the original October 23rd revolt against the Soviet occupation?

The Interpreter. In July 1956 through some unknown factors thousands of political prisoners were freed and these political prisoners were agitating for the overthrow of the Soviet yoke.

His torture, which was very terrible, is only the story of one man, but everybody knows throughout the world that tens of thousands of Hungarians were imprisoned by the Soviets and tortured and the situation was such it didn't make any difference to them, if they are killed by torture or fighting for freedom.

Mr. Morris. Now, do you know, or have you had any dealings

ejw2

with Cardinal Mindszenty?

I notice a news report that he has been accused of being in contact with religious people in Hungary, there is a protest on the part of the Communists to Cardinal Mindszenty communicating with religious people in Hungary.

Did you have any experience with him or with that whole situation?

The Interpreter. He was in Bacz and in this prison camp were all the other people who were imprisoned from the Mindszenty case. Mindszenty was not the only person who was imprisoned at that time, there were very many, thousands of people, thousands of people were imprisoned in the Mindszenty case and he was -- he studied the situation and when the revolution come he was among the people who freed Mindszenty.

Mr. Morris. You were one of the people who freed Cardinal Mindszenty, were you not?

The Interpreter. No, when he got to Budapest, he was there, with him.

Mr. Morris. I see. He didn't see Cardinal Mindszenty since that time?

The Interpreter. He has seen him until he took refuge into the United States.

Mr. Morris. You did see him, then?

The Interpreter. Yes.

Mr. Morris. Did you talk to him?

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The Interpreter. No, he didn't speak to him.

Mr. Morris. Now, do you know anything about the circumstances surrounding Cardinal Mindszenty's asylum in the American Legation?

The Interpreter. He says since Cardinal Mindszenty took refuge in the American Embassy it was very difficult to anybody to go because they were surrounded with spies all around and they took pictures of people and anybody that even attempted to speak to anybody who entered the American Legation, they just gathered them and they disappeared and so for that reason they could never get near him after he took refuge.

Senator Hruska. Now, you have testified that if help does not come from the United Nations or from the West that the people of Hungary will arise again and enter into this third phase of the revolution.

How long do you think they will wait before they undertake that third phase?

The Interpreter. He says that he has not got the date but it is not -- it is not very long, maybe a month, one or two months -- not before spring -- and they are waiting for him to come back with the reports.

Senator Hruska. Have they fixed a definite date, does he know?

The Interpreter. There is no definite date set.

Mr. Morris. Well now, have you testified before the

United Nations?

The Interpreter. Not yet.

Mr. Morris. Do you hope to?

The Interpreter. Yes, he would like to.

Mr. Morris. Now, is there anything else that you feel that this subcommittee should know about the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament, its purposes, its aspirations?

Is there anything else you feel that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee should have in its public record about you or your personal experiences or the experiences of the Hungarian Revolutionary Parliament in general?

The Interpreter. He believes due to the fact that tomorrow is the 8th anniversary of the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty that the Hungarian people will come, if nothing else but a silent protest -- and this silent protest might end up in something, as it happened in October when the students were asking for a silent protest against their oppression.

However, definite knowledge he has none when the date is.

What he wishes to testify in front of the United Nations, however, his experience in this one month is very sad and the Parliament, the Revolutionary Parliament, which is sad, that regardless of what resolution is brought by the United Nations, they did not bring actual help or does not ease the suppression of the Hungarian people, so the Hungarian people are going to take it into their hands and fight to the finish.

ejw5 He says that one of the main wishes of the Hungarian people would be if some help would come through the United Nations or through the Western powers, and if it doesn't there is only one way, that would be for the Hungarian people to give in to the Russians which they don't wish to do and they are not going to do, and the second would mean the complete extermination of the Hungarian people because they are going to fight to the very last.

He said that the two points which the Hungarian people are begging the free world should see is very simple. The only thing that they ask is that the free world and the United Nations see to it that Soviet free Hungary and the Hungarian people should have the freedom to elect their own representative government, which they don't think is too much.

Senator Hruska. All right. Any further questions?

Mr. Morris. I think not of this witness, Senator.

As you know, Senator, there is present here ready to testify, Mr. Jeno Szeradasi. He was the Vice Chairman of the original Hungarian National Revolutionary Council until the execution of Chairman Joseph Dudas and therefore, it is presumed he is now acting chairman.

Do you know when Mr. Dudas was executed?

The Interpreter. He was executed after he left.

Mr. Morris. I see; in other words, after December 18 he was executed.

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You see, Mr. Chairman, this other witness was Vice Chairman of that Hungarian National Revolutionary Council and is here ready to testify.

We were also scheduled to have here General Andrew Turani. I understand there was a delay in some of the plans, for which reason General Turani is not here. So, it is your choice, Senator, whether we are going ahead, whether you think we should hold this other witness over until tomorrow.

Senator Hruska. Well, the hour is getting late and there are other things the Senators are engaged in and I would suggest that the witness be held over tentatively until tomorrow until we ascertain the wishes of the Chairman of the Subcommittee.

It is my own reaction after hearing this testimony that it is very important that it be sent in transcript form to Ambassador Lodge and for the attention of the United Nations' Special Committee on Hungary, or for whatever use he wants to make of it.

It is important, it seems to me, not only what the witness has narrated of his own experiences, but also on some of the things which the Western world has long suspected the Russians have done and it is also important for the things which are forecast in the future and the indications there of, and certainly the United Nations and our Ambassador should be informed of the testimony that has been made available here.

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Subject to the approval of the Chairman of this Subcommittee, that transcript will be forwarded in that fashion.

For the time being, then, and until further order of the Chairman, this meeting is adjourned.

Thank you very much for coming here, Mr. Witness.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 o'clock p.m., the Subcommittee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.)

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THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL WAS REMOVED FROM THE FILE
AND SENT TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES IN COMPLIANCE
WITH THE **NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT.**

62-88217-2154

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman *2/20/57* cc - Boardman

DATE: February 20, 1957

FROM : A. H. Belmont

Belmont
Nichols
Sizoo

b7C

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

b7C

TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, EXECUTIVE SESSION,
2-8-57 (SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES, VOLUME 79 EXECUTIVE)
(NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED)

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Mason ☒
Mohr ☐
Parsons ☐
Rosen ☐
Tamm ☐
Nease ☐
Winterrowd ☐
Tele Room ☐
Holloman ☐
Gandy ☐

OTHER

Above Committee made available transcript of testimony of
[REDACTED] given in executive session 2-8-57. [REDACTED]

OTHER

There is nothing contained in [REDACTED] testimony b7C
requiring any Bureau action.

RECORDED-56

ACTION:

Informative.

62-88217
APL:jdb
(8)
cc - 100-408677 [REDACTED]

6-MAR 8 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAC/gtk

FOIPA-240081

UNRECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2/28

, 1957

TO:

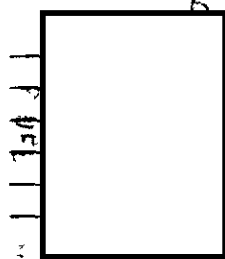
___ Director
 ___ Mr. Tolson, 5744
 ___ Mr. Boardman, 5736
 ___ Mr. Belmont, 1742
 ___ Mr. Mohr, 5517
 ___ Mr. Parsons, 7621
 ___ Mr. Rosen, 5706
 ___ Mr. Tamm, 5256
 ___ Mr. Trotter, 4130 IB
 ___ Mr. Sizoo, 1742
 ___ Mr. Nichols, 5640
 ___ Mr. McGuire, 5642
 ___ Mr. Wick, 5634
 ___ Mr. DeLoach, 5636
 ___ Mr. Morgan, 5625

___ Mr. Nease, 5744
 ___ Miss Gandy, 5633
 ___ Mr. Holloman, 5633
 ___ Records Branch
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 ___ Mechanical, B-110
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 ___ Tour Room, 5625

___ Mr. Jones, 4236
 ___ Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB
 ___ Mr. Warkart, 7204
 ___ Mr. Eames, 7206
 ___ Mr. Wherry, 5537

___ See Me
 ___ For Your Info

___ For appropriate
 action



___ Note & Return

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Rosen

Appendix I & II to Annual Report of
 Internal Security Subcommittee for 1956,
 which previously received

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 DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 MAC/98

L. B. Nichols
 Room 5640, Ext. 691

L. V. Boardman

February 14, 1957

To: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont

A. H. Belmont

53086

b7C

OTHER

OTHER

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ENCLOSURE

Above testimony has been reviewed by the Espionage
Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, and it was determined
that the following information is contained therein which
was not already known to the Bureau:

OTHER

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Tolson ---
Nichols ---
Boardman ---
Belmont ---
Mason ---
Mohr ---
Parsons ---
Rosen ---
Tamm ---
Nease ---
Winterrowd ---
Tele. Room ---
Holloman ---
Gandy ---

FLJ:amd

100-366875

cc-1 - 62-88217 (Subcommittee File)

cc-1 - 80-98

(8)
Enclosure

b7C

FEB 27 1957

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63867

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

Re:



OTHER

100-366875



OTHER

Two Photostats have been made of this testimony, one of which is attached for [redacted] file (100-366875) and the other has been sent to NY in connection with our current investigation of [redacted]. The original testimony has been returned to Mr. Nichols' office for return to the Committee.

b7C

ACTION:

None. This is for information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 2-18-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

Tolson _____
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[] told me that they are going to have hearings on Wednesday and Thursday on the meaning of the new Communist Party line. Among the witnesses will be Eugene Dennis on Wednesday, and the American Civil Liberties representative who sat in on the convention as an observer, and according to Nelson Frank, who has talked to him, has taken a very antagonistic view toward the Party.

On Thursday they are having Frank Meyer and Jay Richard Kennedy in Executive Session, which is the subject of a separate memorandum. [] wondered if there were any thoughts we might have on Eugene Dennis as they are anxious to give him as bad a time as they can. I told him we would think about this and let him know if we had any.

LBN:hpf
 (4)

cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

I said you get anything from D. on. But I don't which would disprove the Dennis line of "independence" of Moscow.

*The memo Boardman
 L. B. Nichols
 2-19-57 WBT*

RECORDED-68

EX-125

FEB 27 1957

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SAC, New York (100-97247) (Orig & 1)

2-15-57

Director, FBI (100-366875)

[Redacted]

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IS - R

Subcommittee on Internal Security

ReBulet 1-18-57.

Attached is a Photostat of testimony of [Redacted] given in Executive Session on 2-8-57 before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate.

b7C

The testimony was made available to the Bureau on a confidential basis. Since the hearing was held in Executive Session, the contents of the attached testimony should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau or be included in a report.

You should review this testimony for information and suggested leads in connection with your current investigation of subjects.

Enclosure

cc - 1 - 62-88217 (Subcommittee file)
cc - 1 - 80-98 [Redacted]

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FLJ:cfe
(6)

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Winterrowd _____
Tele Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

62-88217-2156
(BLOCKED ENCLOSURE & ENCLOSURE)
TO THIS ENCLOSURE ONLY
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62-88217-2157

MAR 22 1957

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DATE 5/16/84 BY SP-7 MAC/gt

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DATE: 2-12-54 1672Rf/Jan
Eugene Dennis Case

February 19, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

FRANCIS EUGENE WALDRON, with aliases:
Francis Xavier Waldron, Jr.
Frank Waldron
Eugene Dennis
F. E. W. Dennis
Gene Dennis
Paul Eugene Walsh
"Milton"

The above-captioned individual under the name Eugene Dennis was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, at the National Committee Plenum meeting held in New York City from July 16 to 18, 1946. In this position Eugene Dennis was one of the most important Communist Party functionaries in the United States. He will be referred to in many instances hereinafter as Eugene Dennis.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Eugene Dennis was born on August 10, 1905, son of Francis Xavier Waldron, Sr., and Nora C. Vieg. This couple filed application for a marriage license on April 11, 1904, at Seattle, Washington. Dennis' mother died when he was quite young and his father, Francis X. Waldron, Sr., died on March 29, 1928, in the Northern State Hospital for Insane, Sedro Woolley, Washington.

Eugene Dennis registered for Selective Service under the name of Francis Eugene Waldron with Selective Service Board No. 33 located at 455 Central Park West, New York City. On these records he stated that he was born August 10, 1904, at Seattle, Washington. The records of the Franklin High School reveal that Francis Waldron was born at Seattle on August 10, 1905. Other information reflects that Dennis was born in 1905 rather than 1904. The Selective Service regulation No. 615.1 entitled "Registration" states "persons who were born on or after October 17, 1904, and on or before October 16, 1919, Group I, were required to be registered on October 16, 1940." It will be noticed from the above that the falsification of one year allowed Dennis to be placed in the class of individuals not having to register on the first Selective Service registration date.

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- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- Nease _____
- Tele Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

WCT:AOB
(5)

NOTE: See memo Belmont to Boardman, 2/19/57 mentioned "Senate Internal Security Subcommittee," WCT:AOB.

2/22/57 V

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EDUCATION

Eugene Dennis was graduated from Franklin High School at Seattle, Washington, in June, 1923. He attended the University of Washington at Seattle, Washington, from September 29, 1925, until the Spring Quarter of the following year.

MARRIAGE

On the Selective Service records Eugene Dennis stated that he married [redacted] on [redacted] at Seattle, Washington, and that they had one child. No marriage license record could be located for this marriage. [redacted] had been b7C previously married to William Schneiderman on September 6, 1927, and it is not believed that a divorce was granted until the latter part of 1936. An article appeared in the San Francisco "Chronicle" on November 4, 1936, carrying the caption "Divorce suits filed, Schneiderman, William versus Regina, address 302 Cumberland Street, San Francisco, California."

CHILD

A child, [redacted] was born to [redacted] b7C [redacted] Eugene Dennis on [redacted] at Los Angeles County General Hospital.

CRIMINAL RECORD OF EUGENE DENNIS

The files of the Los Angeles Police Department reveal the following Criminal Record for Dennis under the name, Frank Waldron, and Los Angeles Police Department No. 29203 M-4:

November 29, 1929 -- Ord. 20534 (5), Dismissed D4, January 7, 1930.
February 26, 1930 -- Susp. Crim. Synd. Released, February 28, 1930.
February 28, 1930 -- 148 PC 409 PC. BFDS, May 5, 1930, Warr. iss.
March 6, 1930 -- Susp. Crim. Synd. Released, March 8, 1930.
March 8, 1930 -- 406 PC \$500 and 180 days. D4, April 14, 1930.
March 23, 1930 -- Susp. Crim. Synd. Released March 24, 1930.

Frank Waldron is assigned FBI No. 1903368.

On February 26, 1930, Waldron was arrested for suspicion of criminal syndicalism at Plaza North Main Street, Los Angeles, during a mass Communist demonstration against unemployed. He was one of the demonstrators exciting others to riot and violence. The arrest report

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

states, "This defendant is a well-known Communist leader in Southern California and an active organizer throughout this district. He brazenly advocates the principles of the Communist Party." He was released on this charge on February 28, 1930, and rebooked for Section 148 (resisting a public officer in discharge of his duty) and Section 409 (Penal Code, remaining present at a place of a riot after warning to disperse).

Waldron was reportedly indicted along with many other Communists by the Grand Jury of Imperial County, California, early in the year 1930 for violation of the State Criminal Syndicalism Act. However, he was never actually arrested or tried on this charge, leaving the community for parts unknown before he could be apprehended. This was the famous Imperial Valley case resulting in the conviction of many well-known Communists and was widely publicized.

TRAVELS ABROAD UNDER FRAUDULENT PASSPORT

In his application for a United States passport under the name of Paul Walsh, he stated that he was born at Austin, Pennsylvania, on February 8, 1904. He listed as his father one William Walsh, who had been born at Towanda, Pennsylvania, and who was at that time deceased. Birth records at Austin, Pennsylvania failed to reflect any birth record for an individual named Paul Walsh.

On December 12, 1930, a passport No. 331741 was issued to Eugene Dennis under the name of Paul Walsh for a contemplated trip of one year's duration to Germany, France, Italy and England, for travel and study. His application reflected that he intended to leave New York City on December 15, 1930, via the SS "Europa." This passport was renewed by the American Consulate at Johannesburg, South Africa on December 13, 1932.

On January 8, 1935, Passport No. 132 E 145337 was issued to Dennis under the name Paul Walsh for return to the United States by the American Consulate at Moscow, Russia. During a portion of the time that Dennis was traveling abroad, he was reported to have attended the Lenin School in Moscow. It has also been reported from an unverified source that Dennis, under the name of Paul Eugene Walsh, was an agent of the Comintern in the Far East.

COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

From March, 1935, to the Summer of 1937, Eugene Dennis was State Secretary of the Communist Party in Wisconsin. Dennis prepared an article which appeared in the May, 1937 issue of "The Communist," official organ of the Communist Party, USA, which was entitled

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Specialist Party Convention." Earl Browder testified before the Dies Committee on September 5, 1939, advising that Eugene Dennis was elected a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at the Tenth Convention (1938) and was also a member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, USA. In 1940 Dennis was reported to be a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA, in charge of the Legislative Committee of the Communist Party.

Dennis was one of the speakers at the National Plenum of the Communist Party which was held in New York City from January 7 to 9, 1944. In May, 1944, Dennis was elected one of the Vice Presidents of the Communist Political Association at the four-day convention of the CPA held at New York City in May, 1944.

On July 29, 1945, Eugene Dennis was elected to the Four-Man National Secretariat and the Eleven-Man National Board of the Reconstituted Communist Party at its National Convention held in New York City, July 26 to 29, 1945. At the National Committee Plenum of the Communist Party, USA, held at New York City on July 16 to 18, 1946, Eugene Dennis was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party. At the Plenum Meeting Dennis gave one of the principal speeches. He reported on the "Struggle for Peace and the Election Campaign Policy."

In addition to general Communist Party official activities, Dennis has written a considerable number of articles for Communist publications and often speaks on behalf of the Communist Party.

On October 14, 1949, Dennis, with ten other members of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA, was convicted of violating the Smith Act of 1940 and on October 21, 1949, he was sentenced to a term of 5 years in prison and fined \$10,000. He served his prison term from July, 1951, to March, 1955. Upon his release from prison, he was in a conditional release status from March 1, 1955, to December 26, 1955.

At the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held December 28 to 31, 1950, Dennis, along with the other twelve members, was re-elected to the National Committee.

He retained the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, until the recent 16th National Convention of the Party held February 9 to 12, 1957, at which time the position of General Secretary was abolished. At the convention, Dennis was elected to the National Committee as a member at large.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1678 RSP/ECM

Declarative and Case

Eugene Dennis

2-16-84

February 19, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL

1. QUESTION:

If the Communist Party, USA, is a legitimate political organization with no external ties as you claim, why was your national convention not open to the press?

(According to various newspaper articles, the public press was not allowed to send reporters to attend the various sessions of this national convention. It is noted, however, that 13 noncommunist observers were invited to attend by the Party.)

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ON 3-30-99

2. QUESTION:

How many delegates actually attended this convention?

(According to newspaper accounts, approximately 300 delegates attended. [During the course of the convention, a report of the credentials committee was presented, during the afternoon session on the third day of this convention. This report stated there were 25 states represented, with a total of 298 delegates, one fraternal delegate, 26 alternate delegates, and 165 guests.]

[REDACTED]

(u) b2

3. QUESTION:

b7D

Will you furnish a list of these delegates to this subcommittee?

4. Prior to this convention did the Communist Party, USA, receive any instructions either directly or indirectly from the Soviet Union as to what course of action the Party should follow at this convention?

(The "New York Herald Tribune" of 10/23/56, carried an article to the effect that the Communist Party, USA, had recently received instructions from Moscow through [REDACTED] who accepted voluntary deportation to Great Britain from the U. S. in 1955, after serving a prison term for violation of the Smith Act. According to this article, [REDACTED] instructions originated in Moscow and included such orders as the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, should immediately stop all anti-Soviet slanders.)

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Attachment to memo Belmont to Boardman, captioned as above, 2/19/57.

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5. QUESTION:

The "New York Herald Tribune" of January 9, 1957, contained an article to the effect that Irving Potash illegally entered this country carrying secret orders from the Kremlin to leaders of the Communist Party, USA. Is this true?

6. QUESTION:

Immediately prior to his arrest, did you have any indication of information that Potash was contemplating returning or had returned already to this country? [] can confirm the fact that Dennis was aware that Potash was returning to this country. We should not, however, reveal to the subcommittee that we have any such information. (u) b2 b7D

7. QUESTION:

Prior to the national convention were there any discussions at meetings of the national committee concerning the necessity of being careful in the use of the term "Marxism-Leninism" in the new constitution of the Communist Party, in order to avoid legal difficulties in the U. S.? [] has advised that such discussions did take place (New York teletype 2/13/57, "CPUSA 16th National Convention, IS (u) (u)" b2 b7D

8. QUESTION:

According to numerous articles appearing in the "Daily Worker" and other communist publications, two of the most widely discussed issues in Party circles during the past year were the Soviet intervention in Hungary and the question of anti-Semitism in Russia. Why is it that neither of these matters were taken up at your national convention?

(Both of these issues were side-stepped at the national convention and were referred to the incoming national committee for consideration.) [] (u) b2 b7D

9. QUESTION:

How do you explain the fact that while the Communist Party professes to be a party of the working class, out of approximately 300 delegates to the national convention, only 80 are engaged in trade-union work? b2 b7D

(This information was also revealed during the course of the above-mentioned report of the credentials committee during the afternoon session of the third day of the convention. [] (u) (u)

10. QUESTION:

Is it true that while the Communist Party, USA, has been apparently going through a period of financial crisis, you are furnished with a chauffeur-driven automobile and a summer cottage at considerable expense to the Party? (The above-mentioned matters have been well-established through our over-all investigation of the Party and Dennis.

11. QUESTION:

In case of an attack upon this country by Russia would you bear arms in defense of the U. S. against the Soviet Union?

12. QUESTION:

According to newspaper articles concerning the national convention, the Communist Party, USA, has declared its independence from Moscow. Does this mean that the Communist Party, USA, has been heretofore subservient to the guidance and control of the Soviet Union?

CCC Linnil

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: 2/19/57

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Reference is made to memorandum from Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson, 2/18/57, relative to hearings of captioned subcommittee scheduled to be held on February 20 and 21, 1957, concerning the meaning of the Communist Party line. Among witnesses to be heard on 2/20/57, is Eugene Dennis, former general secretary, Communist Party, USA, and presently member of the Party's new national committee. [redacted] of the above subcommittee said the subcommittee is anxious to give Dennis as bad a time as possible and wondered if we had any thoughts on the matter. *He is now scheduled to testify on 2/25*

It is noted that on March 25, 1947, we prepared a blind memorandum setting forth pertinent data relative to Dennis in connection with a subpoena Dennis had received to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) on April 9, 1947. This memorandum included information concerning background of Dennis, possible Selective Service violation, criminal record, travels abroad under a fraudulent passport, and a brief resume of his Communist Party activities in the U. S.

Dennis failed to appear before the HCUA on April 9, 1947, and practically all of the information appearing in our blind memorandum was introduced into the record by representatives of the HCUA. This testimony was subsequently published by the HCUA under the caption, "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the U. S. (Regarding Eugene Dennis)." A copy of this testimony is attached hereto and it is suggested that this testimony be referred to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for their use in questioning Dennis on 2/20/57.

The blind memorandum which we prepared on March 25, 1947, has been brought up to date. It is attached hereto in the event it is deemed desirable to furnish a copy to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. None of this material will endanger any of our informants or operations.

ENCLOSURE

(8) Enclosures

cc - Messrs. Nichols
 Boardman
 Belmont
 Thornton

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FEB 27 1957

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Memorandum to Mr. Boardman
Re - Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

It is noted that as a result of his failure to appear before the HCUA on April 9, 1947, Dennis was found guilty of contempt and sentenced to one year in prison and fined \$1,000. This decision was subsequently upheld by the Supreme Court in a 5 to 2 decision.

In addition, there are attached a number of suggested questions which the subcommittee may desire to consider in the questioning of Dennis. Where appropriate, the source of our material for the question is set forth in such a manner that the Bureau can suffer no embarrassment in the event this material is utilized. In those instances where questions are based upon information received from informants or other confidential sources, the source of such data is noted on our yellow file copy.

ACTION:

1. It is recommended that the attached copy of the HCUA testimony dated April 9, 1947, be brought to the attention of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in the event that subcommittee is not already aware of the existence of this testimony.
2. It is recommended that a copy of the attached blind memorandum be furnished to this subcommittee for their possible use in the questioning of Dennis.
3. It is also recommended that a copy of the attached list of suggested questions be made available to this subcommittee for their consideration in this matter.

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FOR RELEASE IN MORNING NEWSPAPERS OF WEDNESDAY, FEB. 20, 1957
FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Danger of Harry Bridges extending his influence to dock workers in East and Gulf Coast ports continues to exist to an alarming degree, Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, declared today.

"Bridges now has the power, through his International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, to shut down ports at San Francisco and Honolulu at any given moment. If he succeeds in spreading his union to the East, he could paralyze the whole nation," Eastland said.

Eastland made the statement in releasing testimony of two Bridges' East Coast leaders, and three other waterfront figures, all of whom invoked the fifth amendment against self incrimination when asked if they were members of the Communist Party. The testimony is in Part 30 of "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States," now available for public distribution.

Witnesses heard were Jeff Kibre, Washington representative of ILWU; and Irving Charles Velson, New York representative of ILWU; Abraham Bershad, Charles L. Keith, and Sam Madell, all New York waterfront figures. There was also testimony from John Lautner, former Communist functionary in New York, and Victor Riesel, newspaper labor columnist.

Riesel told the subcommittee that Bridges does not control ports at New York or New Orleans, but is trying to extend his control. He has tried to extend this control and the reason he has failed has been due to the intelligence of the working longshoremen who many times rejected Communism, who have helped in the boycott of Soviet imports, and

(more)

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who would fight whoever they could against infiltration by pro-Communist forces," Riesel told the subcommittee.

Riesel said it would "be unfortunate if this man were able to extend his influences to the Port of New York," because it "feeds our entire arc of bases from Thule up near the Arctic Circle all the way down to our Hydrogen base being built in Spain, to North Africa."

Riesel's testimony was described as "unfounded allegations" by Jeff Kibre, most articulate of the ILWU witnesses.

John Lautner said that before he left the Communist Party in 1950, he helped draw up a detailed survey of transportation in the New York area, and that information was passed on to higher leaders.

He said the survey not only included the waterfront, but all other forms of transportation,

Robert Morris, Chief Counsel for the Subcommittee, pointed out during the hearing that Lautner's testimony shows that Communists have "intimate details" on transportation in the United States, which presumably was transferred to the Soviet Union.

The published testimony is a preliminary to the later hearings held in Honolulu, which will be printed soon.

#####

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 2-18-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: JAY RICHARD KENNEDY aka,

[REDACTED]

b7C

Tolson _____
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Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

[REDACTED] of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee told me that Nelson Frank, who is working for the Committee in New York, developed 2 exceedingly good cases involving former Communist Party infiltration. He was put in touch with these cases by a New York lawyer named [REDACTED] and I am attaching hereto Nelson Frank's report on the interview with Jay Richard Kennedy.

Kennedy is a member of the New York Stock Exchange; he is a stock broker; and he has largely lived down his CP connection. He has agreed to testify on the condition that only one Senator be present; that it be in Executive Session; and that his testimony be treated as confidential as any publication would ruin his business. He came forward at this time in view of a recent attempt on the part of Steve Nelson to reactivate him into the Party which he enumerates in some detail in the attached interview.

[REDACTED] stated that he wanted us to have the benefit of this but would appreciate it if we would keep it in the Bureau and consider it as confidential. [REDACTED] will give us Kennedy's Executive Session testimony as soon as it is available. [REDACTED] does not have the identity and details on the other Party member but will get it in due time from Nelson Frank.

LBN:hpf

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Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

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62-88217-2158



ENCLOSURE

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Communism on the Waterfront

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

JUNE 21 AND JULY 12, 1956

PART 30

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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DATE 3-30-99 BY SPUBJA/SC



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1956

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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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THOMAS C HENNINGS, Jr., Missouri	WILLIAM E JENNER, Indiana
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JOSEPH C O'MAHONEY, Wyoming	HERMAN WELKER, Idaho
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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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JOHN L McCLELLAN, Arkansas	ARTHUR V WATKINS, Utah
THOMAS C HENNINGS, Jr., Missouri	HERMAN WELKER, Idaho
PRICE DANIEL, Texas	JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, Maryland

ROBERT MORRIS, *Chief Counsel*

RICHARD ARENS and ALVA C CARPENTER, *Associate Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

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12-31-77-2158

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Communism on the Waterfront

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m. in room 104B, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and James O. Eastland, chairman.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Senator JENNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we had scheduled for this morning, in New York City, the appearance of eight witnesses. Now, when the decision was made yesterday that Senate business would make it impossible to have the hearing in New York, we directed seven of the witnesses to appear here in Washington.

With respect to Mr. Victor Riesel, we did the following, Senator

We had his questions and answers sworn to in New York, and I would like to offer this into the record, this transcript into the record now

Senator JENNER. It may go in the record and become a part of the official record, but I think it should be read.

Mr. MORRIS. I will read the questions and Mr. Mandel will read Mr. Riesel's answers.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you please state your name and address?

Mr. RIESEL. Victor Riesel, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Now you have been a labor reporter for many years; have you not, Mr. Riesel?

Mr. RIESEL. Twenty-five years.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would give us a free sketch of your experience in that field.

Mr. RIESEL. In the past 25 years I have covered every conceivable part and written considerably of the history of American labor and international labor. To do this I have not only covered the United States but in great detail European labor, and have gone around the world to cover labor and labor in politics. In addition, I have covered the Communist movement, its leaders, its labor chiefs, directors, and its activities over the same period of time and over the same worldwide area.

Mr. MORRIS. And approximately a year ago you made a trip around the world, did you not, where you saw many of the labor conditions firsthand?

Mr. RIESEL. That is true. I went completely around the world, stopping in Hawaii.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay in Hawaii?

Mr RIESEL One week, and also stopped at Tokyo, Hong Kong, and so on across the world

Mr MORRIS In taking this trip you worked very closely with the labor leaders in the various cities you visited

Mr RIESEL In very great detail and complete openness and frankness I worked especially closely with a great many, perhaps all, of the labor leaders in Honolulu, except, of course, for the pro-Soviet labor organization run by Harry Bridges and Jack Hall, who is his Hawaiian lieutenant

Mr MORRIS Based on your experience which you have just set forth, Mr Riesel, I wonder if you would tell us how Communists operate on the various waterfronts, New York, San Francisco, and Honolulu and throughout the United States

Mr RIESEL I was especially interested in Hawaii where with some 1,300 waterfront workers, the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union is able to shut off all entrance to and egress from the island except, of course, by air

I was very much interested in the fact that this union, which is essentially a waterfront union, was also deep in the agricultural economy of the island

Mr MORRIS When you say "this union" do you mean the International—

Mr RIESEL Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, ILWU

Mr MORRIS By controlling the 1,300 waterfront workers they are able to block the port?

Mr RIESEL Not only are able, but were able and did this some time ago to the point where it would have taken the Army or the Navy to move stuff in and out

I was told in some instances there was so little feed for cattle or the cattle died off or had to be slaughtered, that food supplies ran low, and that the whole economy of the islands was shaken To me this was vital because the Hawaiian Islands, in addition to being a strategic outpost, as witnessed in the tragedy of Pearl Harbor, are the second most important military, naval, air, and marine defense outposts, second only to the Pentagon

From the Hawaiian Islands are the commands reaching to the Asian shores down in New Zealand, and there you have your Far Eastern central command under Admiral Stump

Mr MORRIS And you say that port, which is as important as you say it is, is now under the control of Harry Bridges?

Mr RIESEL It is absolutely so, there is no doubt And from the port he has developed the considerable political influence and has, of course, his union reaching into the agricultural part, the sugar and pineapple fields

Mr MORRIS What do you mean by that, Mr Riesel?

Mr RIESEL He and his union control the workers on the great plantations, which he has also shut down from time to time and has thoroughly hurt the economy At any given moment, should he decide to call a strike, the structure of the union is such that he has the power, through his lieutenant, Jack Hall, that he could not only shut the port, but close down the entire economy by calling an agricultural strike on the big plantations of the island

Bridges has not been satisfied with just controlling the port and the agricultural economy of the island, but has begun to take government workers into his union of waterfront workers and longshoremen

It is now quite probable that he will have the same influence in Government offices that he has amongst the waterfront and plantation rank and file

Mr MORRIS Now, does the Bridges lifeline to Honolulu go from San Francisco?

Mr RIESEL Yes, the command is in San Francisco and no one should make any mistake about that It is in the hands of Harry Bridges who takes, of course, considerable advice from Louis Goldblatt, and is entirely concentrated with international headquarters in San Francisco

Mr MORRIS Now, what controls does Bridges exercise over the port of San Francisco?

Mr RIESEL He could do the same in the port of San Francisco that he could do in Honolulu or elsewhere in the Hawaiian Islands He could shut the port down, and, in fact, has proven that, but he is the boss of the waterfront and warehouse workers in San Francisco and therefore able, at either end of the lifeline from Hawaii to California to immobilize it, so it would take the military forces of the United States to actually keep them open and alive should he decide to call a strike at any one strategic moment

Mr MORRIS And do you consider that this poses a threat to the internal security of this country?

Mr RIESEL I certainly do, and I have considered it such for a long time, and for a long time have tried to bring out the story. That is one of the reasons why I stopped in Hawaii and why I spent practically all my time talking to labor leaders in the island.

Mr MORRIS Now, could you tell us how this control extends to the east coast or toward any of our Southern States?

Mr RIESEL He has influence in Louisiana and New Orleans. The Justice Department has just indicted the president of one of his warehouse locals there on charges of falsely filing a non-Communist affidavit.

This individual has a record of supporting Communist causes, including an effort to keep the atomic spies from being executed for stealing atomic secrets.

Mr MORRIS The Rosenbergs, for example?

Mr RIESEL Of course. He has tried to extend the influence from the west coast to the east coast. He has denounced whatever most other American citizens have held as one of the most progressive steps toward the fighting of crime on the waterfront. He has denounced the Bi-State Commission, which has had, by the way, bipartisan support by both the Democrats and Republicans.

He has denounced a regular AFL effort to dislodge unsavory characters from the waterfront. He has denounced the ousting of longshoremen from the AFL. His union has sent thousands upon thousands of dollars to certain elements on the east coast. He has tried to work his way into the east coast and on the docks.

As a matter of fact, at one time he came here and personally directed it. But mostly he has been working through—and it has been acknowledged he worked through—Irvig Charles Velson, Jeff Kibre, one of the union's agents here, and there are others, I believe.

Mr MORRIS Now, Mr. Riesel, is it your position then that Bridges controls the port of Honolulu and controls the port of San Francisco but with respect to ports such as New Orleans and New York, that he is trying to extend his control and, now lacking that, he has only influence here?

Mr RIESEL He has tried to extend this control and the reason he has failed has been due to the intelligence of the working longshoremen who have many times rejected communism, who have helped in the boycott of Soviet imports, and who would fight whomever they could against infiltration by pro-Communist forces.

Now, it would be a serious matter if this man, who is a champion of Communists and Soviet causes, and in his paper has berated and derogated the United Nations war against aggression in Korea, who was one of the first to carry a two-page spread which encouraged brainwashing of our GIs in Korea, it would be unfortunate if this man were able to extend his influence to the port of New York, for example.

Here we have this terrific naval base at Larnardo, here we have the Army port of embarkation here we have the Brooklyn Navy Yard, here we have docks in Manhattan and Jersey which load cargo for the rest of the world.

My own inquiries, as studied in detail and substantiated and made official by Army officials, show that the Brooklyn port of embarkation in Brooklyn, the Army base, feeds our entire arc of bases from Thule up near the Arctic Circle, all the way down to the hydrogen base being built in Spain, to north Africa.

I think that if one man could control such a line that runs from Hawaii and has some extensions tangentially to Alaska, then on to San Francisco and other west coast ports, then into New York where you have this concentration, it would be a pretty grim picture.

Mr MORRIS Mr Riesel, do you think that if we traced the activities of Harry Bridges in the various ports that we would have a good idea of what Communist activities on the waterfront are?

Mr RIESEL Of course.

Mr MORRIS Thank you.

Senator JENNER I certainly, on behalf of the committee, want to thank Mr Riesel for this forthright testimony. As the whole world knows, he has paid a terrific price for being so forthright in these matters. I notice in his testimony he makes reference to Jack Hall, as he described him as Harry Bridges' lieutenant in Honolulu?

Mr MORRIS Yes.

Senator JENNER I want to state at this time for the record that Jack Hall, who is running the port of Honolulu today as Harry Bridges' lieutenant, was convicted under the Smith Act on November 5, 1952. This man, despite his conviction, almost 4 years ago, is still loose and posing a great threat to the internal security of this country. This delay on the part of the court to confirm the conviction of Jack Hall is to me a shocking thing, and I think the Department of Justice should immediately check on this important matter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to give you a report now on the appearances of the witnesses here this morning.

Mr. Charles Irving Velson has not been served. Mr. Charles Keith and Mr. Hyman Bershad, both of whom were subpoenaed to appear here today, were instructed to appear here after they were due to appear in New York yesterday but have notified the committee through their attorney, Leonard Boudin, that they could not be here. They stated that the 12 or 15 hours' notice we gave them to shift here to Washington was such they could not be here. Mr. Boudin said he had great difficulty in reaching his clients.

Now, Mr. Sam Madell has appeared by Charles Recht, and has asked for adjournment, and Mr. John Steuben, who was also subpoenaed, has indicated, or his attorney has indicated, he is too sick to be here today.

We have, however, Mr. Jeff Kibre, who is the Washington representative of the ILWU and he is ready to testify, Senator.

Senator JENNER Let the record show that Senator Eastland is presiding.

(The chairman is now presiding.)

Senator EASTLAND. You may call the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Senators, Mr. Kibre was mentioned in Mr. Riesel's testimony as one of the two east coast representatives of Mr. Bridges.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KIBRE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JEFF KIBRE, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, WASHINGTON, D. C., ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH FORER, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. KIBRE. My name is Jeff Kibre, my address is 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Kibre, will you tell us what your work is, what is your job?

Mr. KIBRE. Yes; I am the Washington representative of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. In that capacity, it is my job to push legislation which is beneficial to our membership and which is beneficial to the labor movement as a whole and also to represent the union in Washington in connection with various executive agencies having to do with the maritime industry. That is my job and that is the nature of my job.

Mr. MORRIS. And, now, do you, from time to time, have occasion to go to New York?

Mr. KIBRE. Yes, I have had occasions to go to New York.

Mr. MORRIS. And what do you do on those trips to New York, Mr. Kibre?

Mr. KIBRE. If you can be a little more specific?

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us, in a general way, what your duties are when you visit New York in connection with, or on behalf of the union?

Mr. KIBRE. Some years ago, during the winter of 1953 and 1954, when there were a series of strikes in New York involving the International Longshoremen Association, I was asked by the officers to observe the development, keep in contact with the development, and keep the officers informed what was taking place.

Mr. MORRIS. And now is Charles Irving Velson the leading representative of the ILWU from New York?

Mr. KIBRE. Mr. Velson, as far as I know, was hired by Mr. Bridges, I think about a year and a half ago, to undertake certain limited duties which were explained by Mr. Bridges in a press conference last November in New York. And I can repeat to the committee here exactly what Mr. Bridges said in the course of that press conference.

Mr. MORRIS. I wish you would.

Mr. KIBRE. In the course of that press conference, which was held down at the Luckenbach dock, as I recall, Mr. Bridges explained that he had hired Mr. Velson for the purpose of keeping track of the operations of the waterfront commission and, further, for keeping track of certain rating activities on the part of the SIU, Seafarers International Union, with respect to improvements of conditions in longshore jurisdiction in the maritime industry. Those were, as I understand it, the limited purposes for which Mr. Velson was hired.

Mr. MORRIS. And I wonder if you could tell the committee exactly what you do when you go to New York? Do you confer with Mr. Velson?

Mr. KIBRE. Well, I will tell you I have only been to New York about 2 or 3 times in the last year, or last year and a half.

Mr. MORRIS. For instance, you told us that you ran into Mr. Velson yesterday; did you not?

Mr. KIBRE. Yes, that is right. That is because I told our attorneys in New York, that I was going to be in New York in connection with this hearing and asked them to try to get in touch with Mr. Velson, who, I understood, was on vacation. When I got to the lawyers' office yesterday afternoon, Mr. Velson finally showed up there.

Mr. MORRIS. The fact of the matter is, Senators, the United States marshals have been trying to serve a subpoena on Mr. Velson for almost 2 weeks.

Mr. KIBRE. I might explain that he informed me he would be on vacation, and his vacation was to run through the end of this week. I suggested to him, as long as the hearing was taking place in New York, he should stick around for an extra day and he intended to. However, when I discovered later that the hearing had been shifted back to Washington, Mr. Velson said he would be back on the job next week and would be available then.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell the committee what you do as representative of the ILWU here in Washington?

Mr KIBRE Yes In the last 2 years I have been working at great length on 2 basic programs, both legislative in nature. The first is a program which has been developed by the House Merchant Marine Committee or the Bonner committee to bring about stabilization in the maritime industry. One of the basic points raised in the course of these lengthy hearings, which went on over a period of about a year, and that was to bring about common termination dates of all long-shore contracts, with a view toward ending certain practices which have been prevalent in the industry over a period of years—certain practices which brought about unsettled conditions in the maritime industry. And the ILWU has strongly supported such a stabilization program. I have been working closely with the House Merchant Marine Committee on that program.

As a matter of fact, the ILWU, in relation to that program, recently extended its contract involving longshoremen on the west coast for a period of 2 years. The night before, it entered into a 5-year contract with a no-strike clause in Honolulu in the islands, and again carrying out this program of stabilization, entered into long-term contracts in the islands for the sugar industry and for the pineapple industry. That was one of my basic jobs, to work with the House Merchant Marine Committee in developing the details and practicalities of this program.

Mr. MORRIS Was that done on the Bonner committee, did you say?

Mr KIBRE Yes.

Mr. MORRIS You have been working with that committee?

Mr KIBRE I have the records of those very, very lengthy hearings right here, in case the committee is interested, and I would certainly like to offer the transcript of that hearing. It is a bit thick for the information of the committee. I think you would learn some very interesting facts there which would go a long way toward refuting some of the allegations made by Mr. Riesel. And I do want to say that I do greatly sympathize with Mr. Riesel even though I may differ with him, I greatly sympathize with him, and I certainly hope that the persons who are responsible for inflicting the injury upon him, will be brought to justice, but I do want to say that those allegations are completely unfounded and I can show it by offering, for the committee records, some of these lengthy proceedings.

Mr. MORRIS Well, now, Mr. Kibre, I wonder before getting into that. Do you know Jack Hall, who was mentioned by Mr. Riesel as the person who was a lieutenant of Harry Bridges, who virtually controls the port of Honolulu?

Mr KIBRE I have had very little contact with Jack Hall.

Mr. MORRIS Do you know that, as Senator Jenner stated, he was convicted on November 5, 1952, under the Smith Act in Honolulu?

Mr KIBRE Yes, I know that he was so convicted and it is the opinion of our attorneys that that conviction will be reversed on appeal.

Mr. MORRIS And, now, do you know, as Mr. Riesel pointed out there, that the New Orleans representative of the ILWU has recently been indicted?

Mr. KIBRE I have read in the newspapers that Mr. Nelson was indicted.

Mr. MORRIS What was his name?

Mr. KIBRE Andrew Nelson?

Mr. MORRIS He is your organizer in New Orleans?

Mr KIBRE He is the business agent elected as the business agent or president, elected by the membership of the local in New Orleans May I say that an indictment is not a conviction, and I trust that the committee will withhold judgment with respect to Mr Nelson, and I am sure that it will until such time as the courts have tried the matter.

Mr. MORRIS Now, Mr Kibre, I wonder if you could tell us whether or not Mr. William Glazier preceded you as the Washington representative of the ILWU?

Mr KIBRE Mr Glazier was my predecessor as the Washington representative and left Washington to take over a post in the international office in February of 1953, which was the time that I came back.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. KIBRE. He is presently working in the international office as an administrative assistant to the officers

Mr MORRIS Now, Mr. Kibre, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KIBRE I will decline that question on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment, not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been a member of the maritime commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. KIBRE. I will decline that answer on the same grounds

Mr. MORRIS Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party, at which were discussed plans for Communist activity on the waterfront?

Mr. KIBRE. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. You decline to testify?

Mr. KIBRE. Yes; on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment, and I think I would use the first amendment, too.

Mr MORRIS. Now, do you know that there has been testimony before other congressional committees that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KIBRE. I have read some of that testimony and it deals, primarily, with events that took place in Hollywood back in 1936, 1937.

Mr MORRIS Were you a Communist at that time?

Mr KIBRE I would decline to answer that question, but I could go on at great length to bring out the facts that existed at that time, when one of the biggest gangster conspiracies to take over the union in our country was taking place. It was a gangster element I fought against, and tried to clean out, and that was the simple nature of that situation.

Senator EASTLAND Do you know anything about a Communist conspiracy to take over the union at that time?

Mr KIBRE At that time, I was a member of the union, sir, and I may say, respectfully, that I was leading a rank and file movement to oust Willie Bioff along with the Al Capone mobsters who had taken over the union

Senator EASTLAND I would like you to answer my question. Do you know anything about a Communist conspiracy to take over the union at that time?

Mr KIBRE I don't, not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you came here to Washington to take up your job as a Washington representative of the ILWU?

Mr. KIBRE. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator JENNER. Do you draw a distinction between gangsters and Communists, as far as controlling of the union is concerned?

Mr. KIBRE. Well, if you would put it to me a little more explicitly, Senator.

Senator JENNER. Is one better than the other?

Mr. KIBRE. I don't know, but I can tell you I have had a great deal of experience with what the gangsters did in Hollywood, between 1936 and 1937.

Senator JENNER. Have you had any experience with what the Communists have done?

Mr. KIBRE. I will decline to answer that.

Senator JENNER. Under what basis?

Mr. KIBRE. Fifth amendment.

Senator JENNER. Your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KIBRE. It is possible.

Senator JENNER. It is possible.

Mr. KIBRE. I am thinking, particularly, if I might say, sir; I would just like to say a word on that. Back in 1937 and 1938, when Willie Bioff and his gang were in the States, the main thing that they did was to invent and create a tremendous amount of propaganda designed to show that the revolt against this gangster bunch was a big Communist plot, and I can tell you, sir, that they invented and made public more smears in the short space of a year or two than I could possibly add up. And it is for that reason, I am sure, that a great many people are forced to take advantage of their privilege under the Constitution.

And I would love, sir, to tell you about the situation as it took place in those years of 1937-40, when this Al Capone mob had complete control of the industry and was taking 2 percent of our wages as a tribute, refused to hold any meetings of the union, refused to call any meetings, had complete control of the collective bargaining, and, as a result, brought about conditions which robbed the workers of millions and millions of dollars in a few short years. And I might add that the Government finally, I think in 1941 or 1942, confirmed all this when they convicted the entire mob.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Kibre, did you use the alias Barry Wood at that time?

Mr. KIBRE. I will decline to answer that, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever use any name other than your own at any other time?

Mr. KIBRE. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been to San Francisco on the west coast in connection with the organization of the fishermen's union there?

Mr. KIBRE. I was for many years an official of the fishermen's union on the west coast.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately what year, Mr. Kibre?

Mr. KIBRE. Well, I was originally hired as a coordinator for the California locals and I think it was the fall of 1940, and then about 1944 or 1945, I can't recollect exactly, I was elected by the convention as the international secretary-treasurer. I kept that post until 1950, when the fishermen's union merged with the ILWU.

Mr MORRIS. And when did you last see Harry Bridges?

Mr KIBRE. Well, to the best of my recollection, Bridges was here in Washington and testified before the Bonner committee sometime in April. I think that is the last time I saw him, if I recall.

Mr MORRIS. You saw Mr Velson yesterday?

Mr KIBRE. Yes.

Mr MORRIS. Senators, I have no more questions.

Mr KIBRE. May I add one thing, sir, in all due deference to the committee, and that is this. I do want to object at the many allegations that Mr. Riesel has made and again I say that with all due sympathy with Mr. Riesel. I want to object because it is my opinion that these unfounded allegations are going to seriously impede and interfere with this very worthwhile program which the House Merchant Marine Committee is trying to develop and the project which the ILWU supports 100 percent.

Things like this, loose allegations like this, about the ILWU controlling the lifeline when, as a matter of fact, we just signed a 5-year contract in the islands and this is bound to create misinformation among the public, and that kind of stuff is bound to react to the detriment of the merchant marine and the industries, maritime industry. And I do hope, for example, this committee would examine carefully the record of these hearings by the Bonner committee in order to get an accurate picture of exactly what the ILWU program is. The ILWU, as it was testified to at great length by Mr. Bridges before the Bonner committee—

Senator JENNER. May I ask a question? If a union is dominated by a Communist do you think that the contract would mean anything to them?

Mr KIBRE. The only answer I can give you is that the ILWU is dominated only by its membership and that the ILWU has a reputation on the west coast of observing its contracts and has a record on the west coast of not a single strike since 1948 in the maritime.

Senator JENNER. I didn't ask you that question. I asked you if a union was dominated by Communists, do you think a contract would mean anything to the Communists?

Mr KIBRE. Well, I am sorry, Senator, I just can't answer that, because I have had no experience under a situation like that. That is why I say the only situation I have had is when the ILWU and the kind of program that has been carried out, the kind of reputation we have now, which the employers, themselves, have testified to in many congressional hearings, the statements they have made before the Bonner committee, in which they have said repeatedly—

Senator JENNER. You are making your answer responsive to your union. I asked you a hypothetical question.

Mr FORER. He said he didn't know.

Senator JENNER. If he doesn't know, that is his answer.

Mr KIBRE. I am sorry, I just don't know.

Mr MORRIS. Mr. Kibre, in connection with the Bonner committee, was testimony taken under oath before that committee?

Mr KIBRE. As I recall, I can't say for certain, but I think it was taken under oath.

Mr MORRIS. But Mr. Bridges wasn't asked at any time whether he was a Communist; was he?

Mr. KIBRE I don't recall

Mr. MORRIS You were there, weren't you?

Mr. KIBRE I was there, but I don't recall such a question. He did testify at one informal session, at which I wasn't present. That is why I express some qualification.

I would say this. That I do have one recollection where Mr. Bridges testified under oath that he was not a Communist and has so testified repeatedly and has been ultimately cleared of charges of being a Communist by a recent court action.

Mr. MORRIS Mr. Mandel, do we have any report of any activity of the witness here today?

Mr. MANDEL We have information from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, giving the record of Jeff Kibre.

Mr. MORRIS May that go into the record at this time, Senator Eastland?

Senator EASTLAND Yes, it will be admitted in the record.

(The report was marked "Exhibit No 288" and reads as follows.)

EXHIBIT No 288

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 18, 1955

For Hon James O Eastland

Subject Jeff Kibre

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Organization	Activity	Source
American Jewish Labor Council ¹	Signed appeal to President to lift Palestine embargo (identified as secretary treasurer, International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America)	Daily Worker, Feb 18, 1948, p 5
American Slav Congress ^{1,2}	Sent greetings	The Slavic American, fall, 1947, vol 1, No 1, p 78
Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles ^{1,2}	Signed appeal in behalf of indicted Communist leaders	The Independent, Long Beach, Calif., Nov 22, 1948, p 29 (advertisement)
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union ²	Named to represent union in Washington	Daily People's World, Feb 3, 1953, p 8, May 29, 1953, p 7
International Fishermen and Allied Workers, CIO ²	National secretary treasurer, indicted	Daily People's World, Nov 3, 1949, p 2
International Fishermen and Allied Workers, a division of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union ²	Officer of local 33, fined \$150 in cases growing out of 1949-50 strike settlement of union fishermen at San Pedro	Daily People's World, July 12, 1941, p 6
Petition to President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder	Signer	Daily Worker, Jan 25, 1942, p 5
	Made statement in support of Harry Bridges, on latter's conviction	Daily People's World, Apr 6, 1950, p 12
	Spoke at mass meeting Mar 2 under auspices of a committee for defense of Hugh Bryson, indicted under Taft Hartley non Communist provision (spelled Kuyber in article)	Daily Worker, Mar 4, 1954, p 2
	Signer of statement in behalf of Seattle Six	Leaflet, Someone's Got to Take a Stand, 1949
	Protested firing of Communist teachers at University of Washington	Daily Worker, Feb 8, 1949, p 6

BARRY WOOD

Organization	Activity	Source
American Youth Congress ^{1 2}	Editor, AYC publication. Winner (identified as Communist Party name for Jeff Kibre, "well known party leader of southern California")	Memorandum of Attorney General Biddle on the American Youth Congress (reprinted in Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, and quoted in committee Guide to Subversive Organizations, 1961, p. 156)

¹ Cited by United States Attorney General² Cited by Special Committee and/or Committee on Un-American Activities

See also the following references in publications of this committee

Hearings on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, bills to curb or outlaw the Communist Party of the United States, March 24-28, 1947, pages 250, 261

Hearings regarding Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry, October 20-30, 1947, pages 347-349, 351, 352, 356, 394-397, 544, 545

Communist infiltration of Hollywood motion-picture industry, part 2, April 17-May 18, 1951, pages 478-481, 483-485, 488, 493, 519, 525, 527, 528

Communist infiltration of Hollywood motion-picture industry, part 4, September 17-19, 1951, pages 1426, 1446, 1449, 1466, 1467, 1588, 1589

Communist infiltration of Hollywood motion-picture industry, part 5, September 20-25, 1951, page 1732

Communist activities among professional groups in the Los Angeles area, part 1, January 21-25, 1952, page 2484

Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, May 14, 1951, House Document No. 137, page 156

Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1952, December 28, 1952, House Report 2516, January 3, 1953, pages 61, 67

Communist Methods of Infiltration (Government-Labor), 1953, pages 1618, 1622

Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles Area—Part 6 (1951 and 1953), pages 2311-2315, 2325, 2328

Annual Report for 1953, page 39

Report on the March of Labor (1954), page 16

Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 3 (1955), page 1744

Mr. MORRIS. And, Mr. Chairman, in connection with the witness' use of the word "clearance" of Harry Bridges, I would like to have him explain what he means by that.

Mr. KIBRE. Clearance? I don't know—

Mr. MORRIS. Didn't you use the word "clearance"?

Mr. FORER. I think he did. What he was referring to was the recent district court decision.

Mr. KIBRE. I may have used it in connection with the recent district court decision in San Francisco, which finally threw out the last evidence against Mr. Bridges and exonerated him.

Mr. FORER. After a trial.

Mr. KIBRE. After a trial. And bearing in mind that he has been before the Supreme Court twice. There has been 20 years of litigation which ended up in a victory for Mr. Bridges, and, as I understand it, the Justice Department finally accepted the decision as being final.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator JENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. KIBRE. May I offer this transcript for the record?

Senator EASTLAND. It will be accepted as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 289" and placed in the committee files.)

Mr. MORRIS One of the things I am interested in, as I asked Mr. Kibre, is whether or not that committee ever asked Mr. Bridges if he was a Communist, and I didn't see it in there, and I looked for quite some time

Senator JENNER The record will speak for itself.

Senator EASTLAND In this connection, I would like to bring to the attention of the committee the following facts which have been called to the attention of the Attorney General

I believe that the delay in these cases is, likewise, caused by the inability of our courts to take the requisite action that is called for in view of this grave threat that we have been hearing about in our hearings

I am going to read from a letter which was sent on June 18 to the Attorney General. It is signed by the chairman

Two of the leaders of this union have been James Matles and James Lustig. Both have been demonstrated to be Communists—

Mr. MORRIS Senator, that is in connection with the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union?

Senator EASTLAND Yes. [Reading.]

Both have been demonstrated to be Communists and both are the subject of denaturalization proceedings. I believe that your office filed denaturalization suits against them on February 13, 1952, and on December 16, 1952, respectively. Since that time, apparently, nothing has been done to enable the immigration authorities to follow up on their deportation proceedings

There is also the case of Constantine Radzi, who, our record shows, has been a member of the control or disciplinary committee of the Communist Party. Radzi was observed watching one of our hearings in New York in 1952, and was subpoenaed to testify. In that case, both the Immigration Service and the Department of Justice acted expeditiously and filed a denaturalization proceeding on December 17, 1952, against Radzi. Since that time, apparently nothing has been done on this case. Radzi is not even on bail, and is pursuing his work of undermining our Government without molestation

I further call your attention to the case of Louis Weinstock, against whom suit was filed on January 22, 1953, and to the cases of almost a score of other Communists who are still engaged in trying to destroy our way of life

May we have your assurance that the Department of Justice is taking all possible steps to expedite the denaturalization and deportation of the named individuals, and of others in the same position?

Mr. MORRIS Senator, may I state that Senator Jenner has made a previous request.

The facts are, in connection with the ILWU, that Jack Hall, the Honolulu representative of the union, was tried on November 5, 1952, and, despite that, nothing has been done about him. He is still free to carry on his activities, which have been described here today. And, in connection with those cases, Senator, there are almost a score of them. They were highlighted recently when Mr. Bialer, who testified before the committee, said that the most important propaganda that is being used by the Polish Communist government is propaganda of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union, of which Mr. Matles and Mr. Lustig have been the leaders. And that their cases have been on the calendars since 1952, denaturalization cases, and others as you see—many of them run 4 years and more. There has been no activity, Senator, to the best we can learn, as a result of our inquiries. Apparently the delay is in the courts, and nothing is being done to follow up these prosecutions

Senator EASTLAND Who is your next witness?

Mr. MORRIS. John Lautner Mr. Kibre has indicate a desire to leave early and, as far as I am concerned, I have no more questions.

Senator EASTLAND. The committee will excuse him.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAUTNER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LAUTNER

Mr. MORRIS. This witness has testified before this committee before, but he is a person who is in a position, by virtue of the fact that he was one of the leading members of the Communist Party of New York State, to give competent testimony about Communist organization on the waterfront. And he has been recalled for that purpose.

Now, Mr. Lautner, you were a member of the Communist Party until 1950; is that correct?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. You had a leading position on the State committee at that time; did you not?

Mr. LAUTNER. No. I was the head of the New York State review commission of the Communist Party—disciplines committee.

Mr. MORRIS. You were head of the New York State disciplinary committee of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you had been a Communist conversant with Communist activities in New York for how long up to that time?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, from 1945 to the time I left the Communist Party in 1950. I attended organizational committee meetings, where all the organizational activities of the party were planned and discussed and checked.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. And as such, Mr. Lautner, you were able to observe the activities that the Communist Party conducted with respect to the Communist Party on the waterfront?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us how Communist activities on the waterfront, concerning the waterfront, were carried out up to the time that you left the Communist Party in 1950?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give us your firsthand experiences?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. Right after the reconstruction of the Communist Party in 1945, a three-prong program was developed. This program revolved around the reorganization of the Communist Party in New York State, the reindoctrination of the party membership away from the policies of Earl Browder. And the three prong was the institution of a concentration policy for New York State. The major concentration activity was transport; and I don't mean subway riding or riding on the bus, but transportation, the waterfront, the railway terminals in New York, and longshore. And there was a divisional industrial-concentration activity delegated to the county organizations as such, but there were a number of concentration organizations that were supervised directly by the New York State apparatus, by the New York State organization of the Communist Party. Such was the maritime section of the Communist Party, the teamster

section of the concentration section of the Communist Party, and the longshore section of the Communist Party. At the head of the maritime section of the Communist Party they had numerous organizers in a short period of time and, finally, George Watt became the party leader on the New York waterfront, pertaining to maritime workers and shipping. The person who was in charge of longshore concentration and under the supervision of the New York State labor commission of the Communist Party, of which I was a member, was a person by the name of—I will recall his name later. Later, I was sent to Gary, Ind.

Senator JENNER Later on, what?

Mr. LAUTNER Later on I was sent to Gary, Ind., as a columnized party leader into steel, into Gary, Ind.

George Powers, that is his name. He was in charge of 1947, 1948, and part of 1949, of longshore concentration in New York City. And then the third phase of it, the railway concentration, was in charge of a person by the name of Robert Woods. All three officers were at the New York State Headquarters of the Communist Party on the 5th floor at 35 East 12th Street, and they worked under the supervision of the New York State leadership of the Communist Party.

Now, with the reorganizational party with the first prong—I mentioned the three prongs. Now the concentration activity. The first prong was completely reorganized in such a way that all of the community organizations of the Communist Party in New York lent themselves, in order to aid and help to realize whatever the concentration tasks were through the industrial sections, concentration industrial sections of the Communist Party.

In 1947 a commission was set up, the commission was composed of Jim Tormey, Louis Sass, Leonard Levenson, and myself, to make a survey on the party on what are the concentration points in New York County.

We made a survey of all of the teamster sheds beginning from the Battery all the way up to the Fifties and on the East Side. We made a survey of all the railway terminals.

Mr. MORRIS This is in connection with your work in connection with transportation, Communist Party transportation as you described it?

Mr. LAUTNER That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS Proceed.

Mr. LAUTNER. We made a survey of all the railway terminals, like the New York Central on the west side in the lower Bronx, and all of the ferrying that is being done by railways through the Erie line and the Lackawanna lines into Long Island and into Brooklyn. A complete survey was made in order to allocate party organizations, neighborhood organizations, community organizations, to give a hand to the industrial sections who were doing concentration work, building the party in these particular concentration points.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Lautner, in that connection may I break in to ask you, as this information comes in as a result of these surveys, where does that information go?

Mr. LAUTNER. That information went into the hands of party specialists, who specialized on that phase of party activity. First, it went to the New York State labor commission of the Communist Party and then to the national labor commission of the Communist

Party, one headed by the—the national headed by John Williamson and the New York State headed by Hal Simon.¹

Mr MORRIS In other words, Mr. Lautner, all the intimate details relating to the transportation and the transportation lines of New York City, for instance, in connection with this inquiry, are held quite tightly and known by the Communist leaders?

Mr LAUTNER Yes, it is. It is held first of all and assimilated by the labor commissions of the Communist Party and it becomes the property of the party leadership, the board, the New York State board or the national board in the way of reports by these commissions, and then it goes back into the hands of other specialists to check, for instance, reports on transport and waterfront concentration, and New York State labor commission becomes the property of so-called labor specialists in the party, like Johnny Steuben.

Mr MORRIS John Steuben?

Mr LAUTNER He was a member of the New York State board of the Communist Party. And persons like Norman Ross, who is the New York County chairman of the labor commission in New York County. It becomes the property of coordinators like Al Lannon, who was the head of the subcommittee, a subcommittee of the labor commission of the Communist Party, head of the maritime commission. It comes into the hands of these people who can weigh the line of the party to all the party members concerned to work in these particular industries or who try to penetrate further into these industrial setups. It is practically a three-way check.

Mr MORRIS Mr Chairman, that testimony would indicate that the most intimate details of the organization of our waterfront and organization of transportation systems, as described by Mr. Lautner, are known by the Communist leaders of the Communist Party in the United States. The great deal of testimony has indicated in the past, if all those facts are available to the Communist Party, because of the relationship with the Communist Party to the Soviet Union, it is quite obvious the Soviet Union would know all these details that the witness is testifying about today.

And you knew John Steuben to be a member of the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr LAUTNER Yes.

Mr MORRIS Mr. Chairman, Mr. Steuben was one of the witnesses that we have scheduled to appear here today and he said he could not appear because of his doctor's certificate.

Do you know Mr. Charles Keith?

Mr LAUTNER I knew him as a Communist in waterfront section in 1930. He was expelled from the party in 1946 and at that time he organized his own little group within the maritime union on the New York waterfront that was called the Fore and Aft. What Mr. Keith is doing at the present time I have no knowledge whatsoever.

Mr MORRIS Do you have any knowledge that he has returned to the Communist Party?

Mr LAUTNER That may be so at the present time. He may be one of the absorbed or vindicated fellows. It is a fad now in the Communist Party to bring back some of these people who were expelled.

Mr MORRIS But you did not know directly?

Mr LAUTNER I have no knowledge.

¹ Also known as Al Simon (See p 1680)

Mr MORRIS Do you know Mr Sam Madell?

Mr LAUTNER Sam Madell worked under George Powers in 1947 and he was on the payroll He was subsidized by the New York State organization of the Communist Party as one of the waterfront organizers for the Communist Party.

Mr MORRIS And now, how about George Watt?

Mr LAUTNER George Watt, yes, I know him.

Mr MORRIS Do you know if he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr LAUTNER Yes In fact, shortly after I left the Communist Party he became the national secretary of the national review commission of the Communist Party, the disciplinary committee.

Mr MORRIS How about Al Simon?

Mr LAUTNER Simon was a member of the New York State board, New York State committee of the Communist Party, and head of the labor commission

Mr MORRIS How about Al Lannon?

Mr LAUTNER Lannon was the maritime coordinator for the Communist Party and a member of the national committee.

Mr MORRIS How about Babin, Toma Babin?

Mr LAUTNER Babin, he was a Yugoslav Communist Party leader on the waterfront among Yugoslavs, and longshoremen in New York He was deported from the United States, I think, around 1940 or 1939 He is in Poland today

Mr MORRIS With the exception of Mr Babin, then, Mr Lautner, if we followed the activities of those other people mentioned we would have a fairly good idea of what communist activities on the waterfront are?

Mr LAUTNER And some other people yet, too

Mr MORRIS Who were they, Mr Lautner?

Mr LAUTNER Well, I know—

Mr MORRIS You mentioned Mr Steuben.

Mr LAUTNER Yes, Steuben There is one Mitch Baronson, who was the party coordinator of longshore activities in Brooklyn, in Red Hook, or the Brooklyn waterfront There is another person to get acquainted with There were a number of concentration branches set up by the Communist Party to cover shapeups on the New York waterfront to distribute leaflets and sell Daily Workers At the moment I don't exactly know, but I think I will know some of these members who were members of these concentration branches from the Communist Party who were assigned to do waterfront work in New York

Senator JENNER I would like to ask you a question, since you have been a member of the Communist Party, high in the official ranks for several years What is your opinion, or if you have actual knowledge, tell us what a Communist agreement or contract means?

Mr LAUTNER It means only so much.

Senator JENNER How much?

Mr LAUTNER If the agreement serves the interest of the party, the agreement will be upheld If it does not, the minute it does not serve the interest of the party, that agreement isn't worth the paper it is written on

Senator JENNER So, if the Longshoremen's Union, I believe that is the title, has a 5-year contract, according to these hearings before

us, in Honolulu, and a 2-year contract in San Francisco, with your experience in the Communist Party, what would the contracts actually mean?

Mr. LAUTNER. It means this: At the present time they are following a certain line, and as long as that line is followed and the contract jibes or coincides with the thinking of that particular line, it is all right. As soon as there is a change in the situation, that contract isn't worth anything.

Senator JENNER. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else that we covered in our executive session, Mr. Lautner, that we haven't covered in this open session that you can recall?

Mr. LAUTNER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I want to thank you very much, Mr. Lautner, for your testimony here today.

Senator JENNER. Thank you very much for aiding this committee.

In conclusion, let me state that when the enemies of decency in the union movement threw acid in the eyes of Victor Riesel they merely focused national attention on the evil he has done so much to combat. I want to say again, as I said earlier, I want to commend Mr. Riesel not only for his courage in fighting communism and racketeering in the unions, but also for the resilience of this courage which he has demonstrated after his attack. His fight goes on. We hope Mr. Riesel keeps up his fight against communism and racketeering and we do appreciate his cooperation with this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have some letters which Senator Eastland, on behalf of the committee, has written in the last week and I would like all those to go into the public record of this committee.

Senator JENNER. They may become a part of the official record (The letters are as follows.)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., June 26, 1956

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: This is in response to your letter dated June 18, 1956, wherein you refer to the cases of James Matles, James Lustig, Constantine Radzie, and Louis Weinstock and ask my assurance that the Department of Justice will take all possible steps to expedite their denaturalization and deportation.

As you know, the Department of Justice has been vigorously pursuing proceedings designed to denaturalize and deport any naturalized citizen whose presence in the United States may constitute a threat to internal security. This is but one aspect of the Department's program to protect our national security against the criminal conspiracy of communism.

As indicated in your letter, judicial proceedings to denaturalize the individuals referred to have been pending in the United States District Courts for the Southern and Eastern Districts of New York for some time. The delay in the actual trial of these cases has been due not only to congested trial calendars but also to an important legal issue which was but recently settled by the Supreme Court.

In *United States v. Zucca* (125 F. Supp. 551 (S. D. N. Y., 1954)), it was held that revocation proceedings cannot be maintained unless the affidavit showing good cause therefor is filed with the complaint. This decision was affirmed by the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (221 F. 2d 805). Since the filing of the affidavit would be disadvantageous to the Government, the Department requested Supreme Court review. Pending Supreme Court decision, the cases filed without affidavits in the district courts within the Second Circuit were removed from the trial calendars. On April 30, 1956, the Supreme Court ruled, by a 5-to-4

vote, that the affidavit must be filed, *United States v Zucca* (351 U S 91) The Department has since issued appropriate instructions to the United States attorneys governing the filing of the required affidavits

Insofar as bail is concerned, the defendants are all citizens until denaturalized and the pending proceedings are civil in nature The law makes no provision for the detention of the defendants in such proceedings and there is thus no authority for bail

The Matles case in the Eastern District of New York has already been set for trial and efforts are being made to have it placed at the head of the nonjury civil calendar for the October term It will be personally presented by the chief of the criminal division of that district The Lustig, Radzie, and Weinstock cases will be restored to the trial calendar of the Southern District of New York as soon as possible You may rest assured that the Department is taking all possible steps to expedite the denaturalization and deportation of these individuals and of all others in the same position

Sincerely,

WARREN OLNEY III,
Acting Deputy Attorney General

JULY 2, 1956

HON JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
The Secretary of State,
Department of State, Washington, D C

DEAR MR SECRETARY On June 29, 1956, Seweryn Bialer testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in connection with the recent riots in Poznan, Poland As you know, Mr Bialer was, until January 31 of this year, a member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, specializing in anti-Western and anti-American propaganda

Enclosed herewith, for your information, is a copy of the transcript of Mr Bialer's testimony, setting forth important evidence concerning recent events in Poland As his testimony shows, the Polish Communist leaders have been forced to permit a certain liberalization of conditions, and it is this, he states, which unleashed the forces that caused the Poznan uprising

I particularly call your attention to the following colloquy near the close of Mr Bialer's testimony (pp 3413-3415)

"Mr MORRIS Mr Bialer, could you tell us what you feel the United States policies would be now with respect to this expressed desire on the part of the Polish people to gain their liberation from control?"

"Mr BIALER First of all, sir, I believe that the most important thing in this field is this Let the American people convince the Polish people first that they sympathize with them, and secondly, that the Americans will never reconcile themselves with the loss of freedom in Poland

"Mr MORRIS Let the American people know that they sympathize with the Polish people and that they will never reconcile themselves to the loss of freedom on the part of the Polish people?"

"Mr BIALER Let the Polish people know it

"Mr MORRIS Let the Polish people know that the Americans sympathize with their feeling that they will never reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom?"

"Mr BIALER I want to stress very, very strongly this fact The Polish Communist Party and the Polish Communist regime are doing everything possible to silence the Western world and the Americans, not to let them—to stop them—saying the truth about the situation in Poland

"Mr MORRIS The Communist leaders are doing everything possible in order to cause the leaders of the West and the people of the West not to express themselves on these subjects?"

"Mr BIALER Yes, to such a degree that I would put it in such a slogan—it amounts to this The Communist leaders in Poland are saying to the Western World, very smartly, very cleverly, "Don't you criticize us in your radios and we will not jam your broadcasts"

"Mr MORRIS Should we continue to criticize them?"

"Mr BIALER Naturally, if we stop the campaign of criticizing them and revealing the truth, this would mean a great help to them in their oppression of the Polish people

"Mr MORRIS And therefore, that is—a policy which would cause us to soften our criticism of the Polish overlords would be a bad policy for us to pursue?"

"Mr BIALER I think that such a policy would be a very terrible policy as far as the Polish people are concerned, and in consequence would be a bad policy for the United States"

I have taken the liberty of setting forth this particular portion of Mr Bialer's testimony, because I believe it sheds important light upon an issue of policy concerning which there has been a great deal of debate in recent months

On all sides we hear it said nowadays, that America should take the lead in "relaxing international tensions," as a means of promoting the goal of world peace To this end, it has been suggested that the United States should modify the tone of its broadcasts to the captive nations of Eastern Europe, to avoid giving any possible offense to the Communist overlords of those areas Mr Bialer's testimony serves to emphasize how ill-advised such a course would be and what dreadful consequences it might have, both for the Polish people and for the United States

I therefore express the hope, Mr Secretary, that nothing will deter this country from speaking with fearless candor to the oppressed populations behind the Iron Curtain Only from us can they hear the truth, and only the truth can make them free

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 5, 1956

HON JAMES O EASTLAND,
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND Thank you for your letter of June 18, 1956, supplemented by your letter of June 20, 1956, addressed to the Secretary

The Department was aware of the identity of the two Soviet nationals referred to by Michael Shatov during the course of a hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on June 13, 1956, and had initiated an inquiry into their alleged redefection activities

The Department is reviewing the Shatov testimony, together with other relevant information which it has received

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C HILL,
Assistant Secretary

JULY 3, 1956

HON JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
*Secretary of State, The State Department,
Washington, D C*

Note in Tuesday's Washington Evening Star a report that Assistant Soviet Military Attaché Col Ivan Bubchikov was expelled from this country on June 24 on the ground for espionage Please furnish particulars of Bubchikov's activities for inclusion in the record of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in connection with its investigation into scope of Soviet activity in the United States

JAMES O EASTLAND,
Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

JULY 5, 1956.

HON WALTER F GEORGE,
*Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,
United States Senate, Washington, D C*

DEAR MR CHAIRMAN The Honorable William C Wentworth, Member of the Australian Parliament and member of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, has transmitted the enclosed cable to Robert Morris, chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Inasmuch as it bears on matters related to our foreign policy, I am transmitting herewith a copy of this cable, with the request that you place it before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

The Australian Parliamentary Affairs Committee is made up of 13 members The fact that 12 of these members have signed the within cable would indicate that their sentiments represent committee thinking

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee

[Telegram]

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, July 3, 1956.

ROBERT MORRIS,
*Chief Counsel, Committee on the Judiciary,
 United States Senate, Washington.*

Twelve members of Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee including myself have signed the following statement for press. Statement begins "the massacres and mass arrest in Poznan show that Poland is still a police state whose people are kept in subjection to totalitarian terror"

"Public comment from Communist leaders in other Soviet satellites to the effect that the Polish uprising proved the need for greater party vigilance is at least an indication that this is still the normal method of government throughout the Communist world"

"The new leaders in the Kremlin now profess penitence for the misdeeds of the criminal Stalin. It should be remembered that Stalin's greatest crimes were committed not against the Russian people but against neighboring free people, particularly Poland, who were enslaved by force of Russian arms and have been kept in subjection by violence and electoral fraud"

"The Kremlin confessions regarding Stalin's activities constitute new evidence justifying the reopening of the Polish case of 1945"

"Surely there is some international organization which will support the principle of free and properly supervised elections in Poland"

"The Poznan uprising proves—if any further proof were needed—that there are still Poles who are willing to sacrifice their lives for their nation"

"The free world should not sit on the sideline while the unctuously penitent men in the Kremlin proceed to repeat Stalin's crimes of 1945 and apply the jackboot to Poland once again"

"We must protest against Communist methods and develop our protest into an effective demand for free elections in Poland"

"Meanwhile the press and radio of the world should not relax its efforts to expose the administrative and judicial terror being employed against the Polish people"

"We should demand the fullest and most factual account of the happening and if press correspondents are denied freedom of movement in Poland and freedom of access to the accused the world should know about it and protest accordingly"

"The methods adopted by the Communist authorities in Poznan throw a lurid light on the insincerity of the Kremlin much advertised change of heart."

WENTWORTH.

Mr MORRIS: There is one other thing. We have to set a return date for the testimony of John Steuben, Charles Keith, Sam Madell, Charles Irving Velson, when we are able to effect service on the last person.

Senator JENNER: All right.

The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon at 12 noon the subcommittee adjourned.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Communism on the Waterfront

THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11.40 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Present Senator Jenner

Also present Robert Morris, chief counsel, William A. Rusher, administrative counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Edward Duffy, investigator. Senator JENNER: The hearing will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS: Mr. Chairman, the subject of today's hearing will be the possible extent of Soviet activity on the New York waterfront. Several weeks ago we heard testimony—we had testimony from Victor Riesel and John Lautner. Victor Riesel testified that Harry Bridges has considerable control of the San Francisco waterfront and the Honolulu waterfront, and that he is making efforts to organize on the New York City waterfront and in New Orleans.

John Lautner, having been a former official of the Communist Party, gave us extensive evidence about Communists who are active on the waterfront. On other things, he testified that Communists were able to have access to all the intimate details of shipping, transportation, cargo import and export from the port of New York.

The third witness last week was Jeff Kibre. Jeff Kibre is the Washington representative of the ILWU, which is Mr. Bridges' union. Mr. Kibre described his assignment with the ILWU here in Washington, and when we asked him whether or not he was presently a member of the Communist Party he invoked his privilege of the fifth amendment.

Senator, this morning we are prepared to continue these hearings, and we have subpoenaed five witnesses. One witness, John Steuben, has not appeared and has sent a doctor's certificate.¹ John Lautner has testified that John Steuben has been one of the leading Communists who are active on the New York waterfront. He will not be able to testify here this morning, but the other four persons subpoenaed are now here and will testify.

¹ The medical report on Mr. Steuben appears at the conclusion of the day's hearing.

Senator JENNIE We will proceed Call the first witness

Mr MORRIS Mr Velson Is Mr Velson here?

Senator JENNIE Mr Velson, will you take the witness stand at the end of this table. Will you be sworn to testify?

Mr MALAMENT. Mr Chairman, may we have an understanding that my client doesn't want his picture taken, and I think he should have been consulted about this I thought it was the understanding that we would be consulted before pictures could be taken

Senator JENNIE I had no understanding of that kind, and it is perfectly all right if the witness does not want his picture taken while he is testifying. If you so wish, he will not have his picture taken.

Will you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr VELSON I do

Senator JENNIE We are ready to proceed Proceed, Mr. Morris

TESTIMONY OF IRVING CHARLES VELSON, BROOKLYN, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY EDWARD J. MALAMENT, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr MORRIS Will you give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr VELSON Irving Charles Velson, 1798 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr MORRIS Now, Mr Velson, what is your occupation?

Mr. VELSON I am a representative of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your title in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union?

Mr VELSON Representative

Mr. MORRIS Now, will you describe your duties as representative of the ILWU?

Mr VELSON. My duties as representative of the ILWU are to keep the officers of the union informed as to the activities of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor, as to its interference with collective bargaining, its discrimination and refusal of employment of individual longshoremen, its interfering with hiring, and to keep our union informed on any new technical developments in the way of loading practices and new methods of operation—

Mr. MORRIS. Speak up a bit more. That is not a public address system, by the way.

Mr VELSON. Yes, sure.

(Continuing) And to generally keep our officers advised as to what the commission is doing in the way of its relationship to individuals, the activities of various steamship companies, and their relationship to the waterfront commission, the effect of the waterfront commission on loadings and arrivals and loss of cargo to other ports, the effect of the tax on particular types of cargo which may have been diverted to other places, and matters of that sort

Mr MORRIS In other words, you are really more of a reporter than anything else, reporting back to the ILWU as to what is going on in New York?

Mr VELSON I would say that I am an observer for the ILWU on things around New York.

Mr MORRIS And what you observe, you report to Mr. Bridges, do you not?

Mr VELSON. Yes, sir

Mr MORRIS Now, when did you last see Mr. Bridges?

Mr VELSON I last saw Mr. Bridges about 2 or 3 weeks ago

Mr. MORRIS And where did you meet him on that occasion?

Mr VELSON I met him at the headquarters of the ILWU in San Francisco.

Mr MORRIS And what did you report to him at that time?

Mr. VELSON. We discussed one question that our union was very, very much concerned with, and that was the new type of spardeck tanker which carried loaded trailers. There are about forty-odd ships, either committed for or under construction, which will now carry cargo in containers, as against individual items in the hold, and our union was very much concerned about how this particular method of operation worked, how many men were involved, what loss of manpower there was as regards previous methods of loading, what the method of operation was, what type of machinery was used, and they are very, very much interested in this service which is already in effect between New York and Houston, and when it is introduced, it will have a very direct bearing on the work opportunities of the membership of our union on the Pacific coast and in Hawaii

Mr MORRIS. Do you deal with the waterfront commissioners or members of the staff of the waterfront commission? Do you deal with them direct?

Mr VELSON Would you repeat that?

Mr MORRIS Do you have any personal dealings with the commissioners of the New York Waterfront Commission or any members, any employees thereof?

Mr VELSON. No; I do not.

Mr. MORRIS In other words, your observations of the waterfront commission's activities are at a distance?

Mr VELSON. Well, I wouldn't say they are at a distance I would say that by talking with individual longshoremen and people in the union, they are very close to the heart of the waterfront commission's operation.

Mr. MORRIS. I see But you do learn about the waterfront commission from somebody between yourself and the commission?

Mr VELSON. That is correct

Mr MORRIS You do not deal with them directly, you do not learn firsthand what they do?

Mr. VELSON. I think I learn very firsthand, Judge. I think that the people who are affected by the activity of this commission, where they interfere with the daily routine of a longshoreman's life, and there is always a possibility—there was talk of such a commission being set up out on the Pacific coast That is our concern primarily, how it affects the individual workingman And I think I get it right from the horse's mouth

Mr. MORRIS Now, when were you hired first by the ILWU?

Mr VELSON. In September of 1954

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, who hired you? Did Bridges personally hire you?

Mr VELSON. No I was hired by the organizing committee, which consists of—not the organizing committee I was hired by the officers of the union

Mr MORRIS Who, specifically, hired you?

Mr VELSON Mr Robertson.

Mr MORRIS Who is he? Identify him for the record

Mr VELSON He is the first vice president of the ILWU

Mr MORRIS And you had personal negotiations with him, which terminated with your being retained?

Mr VELSON He asked me if I would work for the ILWU, through mail

Mr MORRIS How long have you known Harry Bridges?

Mr VELSON Well, I think I first met him in 1942 at a CIO convention, or 1943 I am not quite certain

Mr MORRIS And you have seen him and met with him and conversed with him in the intervening time?

Mr VELSON Would you repeat that?

Mr MORRIS You have seen him and met with him and conversed with him from time to time in the intervening years?

Mr VELSON No I didn't see him—shortly before—I don't think I saw Mr Bridges until shortly before I went to work for the ILWU

Mr MORRIS Now, do you know a man named Roy Hudson, who has been identified as an important Communist labor leader?

Mr VELSON I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment

Mr MORRIS You won't tell us when you last saw Mr Hudson?

Mr VELSON Beg pardon?

Mr MORRIS When did you last see Roy Hudson?

Mr VELSON I have already answered that question

Mr MORRIS What is your answer?

Mr VELSON My answer is I declined—I had previously declined to answer that question

Mr MORRIS Now, have you ever done any longshore organizing, longshoreman organizing? Have you organized longshoremen at any time?

Mr VELSON I have never organized longshoremen into the ILWU

Mr MORRIS Have you done any organizational work other than the activity that you have described here on the east coast?

Mr VELSON I have done no organizing for the ILWU We are also—since I was originally appointed, we are very much interested in getting passed the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, which provides for an increase in compensation pay for disabled, injured longshoremen, who are injured on the ship itself, which comes under the Federal law We have been very active in that We have been—our position on other matters of maritime interest, we are very much interested in the revival of intercoastal trade because we have lost thousands of jobs to other forms of transportation because there was no agreement as between the two coasts as to how intercoastal trade can be used We have also—

Mr MORRIS Tell me this—

Mr VELSON We have also been very much concerned in this connection with a reduction in Panama Canal tolls, so that the subsidy which

the trucking people get as a result of free use of the highways is at least in some way comparable to intercoastal shipping

There are many matters along that line that we have an interest in

From time to time, if the officers ask me to find out about it, I do my best to try and advise them.

Mr. MORRIS Have you ever been on the payroll of the International Longshoremen's Association, independent?

Mr. VELSON No, sir Absolute falsehood

Mr. MORRIS Have you had any dealings with the ILA through their officers or officials?

Mr. VELSON Yes I have talked to ILA officers

Mr. MORRIS Do you know a gentleman named Teddy Gleason?

Mr. VELSON I do

Mr. MORRIS Who is Teddy Gleason?

Mr. VELSON Well, Teddy Gleason is the general organizer of the ILA.

Mr. MORRIS Do you see him from time to time; do you know?

Mr. VELSON I do.

Mr. MORRIS Do you work in conjunction with him in any organizational work?

Mr. VELSON No.

I have had occasion to talk to Mr. Gleason many times I might have some information that I feel I am not certain about and I might ask—I would ask him if he knows if such-and-such is true I have talked to him about the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, and other matters

Mr. MORRIS Do you derive any of the information that you report back to Mr. Bridges from Mr. Gleason? Is he one of the sources that you have told us about?

Mr. VELSON No

I would say that Mr. Gleason—no, he wouldn't be any source, particularly I might ask him if such-and-such is true

Mr. MORRIS And then if he tells you—

Mr. VELSON Of course, you hear all sorts of rumors

Mr. MORRIS If he tells you such-and-such a thing is true, then do you report that fact back to Bridges and the other officials?

Mr. VELSON I look around and I try not to report anything

Mr. MORRIS He is one of your sources?

Mr. VELSON I talk with him.

Mr. MORRIS And you do see him regularly, do you not?

Mr. VELSON No special regularity. I might see him twice in 1 week and might not see him for 2 or 3 weeks.

Mr. MORRIS When did you last see him?

Mr. VELSON About a week or 10 days ago

Mr. MORRIS Now, what was the occasion of your meeting him a week or 10 days ago?

Mr. VELSON Our union had—I had returned from San Francisco and one of the things that our union was undertaking in connection with its current negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association was a reduction in the hours of work from 9 to 8 hours, with the same take-home pay, and this, of course, especially in view of the fact that many of our members are older men, would be a tremendous boon to them, and I thought that the fellows in New York, in the ILA, would

be interested, because if that comes about, it means that our hourly rate will go up to \$2.67 an hour.

Mr. MORRIS: Now, Mr. Velson, do you have an office?

Mr. VELSON: No.

Mr. MORRIS: Do you use the office of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers at all for your activities?

Mr. VELSON: I go there occasionally, but I don't use it as an office. My office is in my home.

Mr. MORRIS: How often do you go to the office of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union?

Mr. VELSON: I don't recall. I haven't been there in 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. MORRIS: Who were the personalities there that you visit, when you do go there? Will you describe where this office is, the UERMW office?

Mr. VELSON: 11 East 51st Street.

Mr. MORRIS: And whom do you see there when you go there?

Mr. VELSON: Excuse me.

Well, I generally go there to use a typewriter, occasionally, if I want to get something typed without going home to Brooklyn.

Mr. MORRIS: That was not answering the question. Whom do you see? What personalities, individuals?

Mr. VELSON: I don't go there to talk to anybody, but anybody I know who I meet there I talk to them.

Mr. MORRIS: Who runs the office at 11 East 51st? Who is the head?

Mr. VELSON: Mr. Fitzgerald is.

Mr. MORRIS: He is not operationally in charge of that office, is he? He is not president? Does he have an office there?

Mr. VELSON: Yes, he has an office.

Mr. MORRIS: Do you see him from time to time?

Mr. VELSON: I have seen him, talked to him.

Mr. MORRIS: Who else have you seen there?

Mr. VELSON: I say—I have seen—I don't recall everybody I have met there, but I have run into the officers there occasionally. They haven't been—mostly secretarial people that I see there. Some of them—I don't even recall their names.

Mr. MORRIS: Well, Mr. Velson, do you come to Washington from time to time?

Mr. VELSON: Very rarely.

Mr. MORRIS: For what purpose do you come to Washington?

Mr. VELSON: Well, generally when there is a hearing on some matter of interest to our union I come.

Mr. MORRIS: Did you come here in connection with the hearings of the Bonner committee?

Mr. VELSON: Not all of them, some of them. I have attended some of them.

Mr. MORRIS: Did you take up the affairs of the ILWU with the Bonner committee?

Mr. VELSON: I did not.

Mr. MORRIS: You left that—

Mr. VELSON: I have never taken up any affairs of the ILWU with any committee. I merely am an observer. I am not an official. I am not a policymaker of any kind. The officers handle all that stuff—Mr. Bridges.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you see Mr. Jeff Kibre, who is your Washington representative?

Mr. VELSON. I generally always do.

Mr. MORRIS. You exchange information with him, and he exchanges information with you, and you discuss with him the work of ILWU as it relates to New York and Washington?

Mr. VELSON. Well, we talk about matters of mutual interest.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Velson, were you born in New York City on June 13, 1913?

Mr. VELSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Ruth Young your former wife?

Mr. VELSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And that marriage terminated in divorce, did it not?

Mr. VELSON. It did.

Mr. MORRIS. And your present wife's maiden name is Evelyn Minsky?

Mr. VELSON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And now, have you been—are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in the 1930's were you the national military director of the Young Communist League?

Mr. VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. VELSON. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you known on the New York waterfront as Charlie Wilson, ever known as Charlie Wilson?

Mr. VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you ever known as Shavey Wilson?

Mr. VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been president of an organization called the Apprentice Association?

Mr. VELSON. I think I was secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. You still are secretary?

Mr. VELSON. No. I haven't been an apprentice for 25 years.

Mr. MORRIS. I thought you said "I am."

Mr. VELSON. I think I was secretary. I don't recall being president, but I may have been. That was 25 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe what the Apprentice Association was?

Mr. VELSON. The Apprentice Association was all the apprentices who worked in the Navy Yard, of which I was one.

Mr. MORRIS. You organized them?

Mr. VELSON. No. It was organized before I ever came to work there.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Have you done any organizing whatever in the Brooklyn Navy Yard?

Mr. VELSON. Well, I organized at least 10 local unions of the American Federation of Labor among various crafts there who were unorganized.

Mr. MORRIS. You say in the Brooklyn Navy Yard?

Mr VELSON Various crafts in the Brooklyn Navy Yard who were unorganized

Mr MORRIS I wonder if you could tell us briefly how you carried on that work, just briefly Tell us what you did, and how you did it Were you working there at the time?

Mr VELSON I was working there I served my apprenticeship there.

Mr MORRIS What year was that?

Mr VELSON 1930 or 1931 I don't quite recall the time I became a journeyman

Mr MORRIS You did organize AFL unions who were unorganized in the 1930's?

Mr VELSON Well, the union I belonged to, I think had been in existence for 40 or 50 years before I ever came there

Mr MORRIS You say you did organize—

Mr VELSON I organized some unions, some crafts that were not organized The wage scale in the Navy Yard at that time was substantially below comparable wages paid in private industry

As a matter of fact, when I was an apprentice under Mr Hoover, we got a wage cut to \$9 a week

Mr MORRIS Under Mr Hoover?

Mr VELSON Herbert Hoover Do you remember him?

Mr MORRIS Oh, yes

Mr VELSON A long time ago We got \$9 a week No way to live, and we wanted to get a little more money, so we organized That was the apprentices Then the wage scale for the journeyman was so far below comparable wages paid in private industry that we tried to get our wages increased to comparable wages paid for similar crafts in other fields of work That was a long drawn-out proposition The organization—

Mr MORRIS How long did you carry on that work in the Brooklyn Navy Yard?

Mr VELSON A couple of years, I guess

Mr MORRIS Didn't your work carry on into the early 1940's, the first part of the war?

Mr VELSON Yes, I believe it did We got—I got in the hair of the officials, the navy yard officials down there, because we were pressing very, very hard on this thing and we were extremely unpopular

Mr MORRIS Well, were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr VELSON I think I have already said that I decline to answer whether I was a member of the Communist Party

Mr MORRIS You said you decline to answer whether you are presently one The question is Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were organizing workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard during the 1930's and during the early part of the war?

Mr VELSON I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment

Mr MORRIS Were you a Communist when you were holding the position which you recall was secretary of the apprentice association, which was—

Mr VELSON The answer is the same, Mr Morris

Mr MORRIS You will not tell us?

Mr VELSON No

Senator JENNER. Same answer; fifth amendment?

Mr VELSON. Yes, sir

Mr. MORRIS. Was there any kind of a security action taken in conjunction with the Navy Intelligence about your being denied access to the Brooklyn Navy Yard?

Mr VELSON. I was fired after we put on this wage campaign. They unloaded me fast.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that dismissal have anything to do with security?

Mr. VELSON. Let me—I was fired after we put on this wage campaign. They said I had given them—I forget the exact details, but we really got in their hair organizing these locals, and tried to get more money, so they unloaded me.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in 1943 you were a member of the executive board of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, were you not?

Mr. VELSON. Not in 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. January 8, 1943?

Mr. VELSON. Excuse me. I don't recall. I think I was a member later on, Mr. MORRIS, but I don't think I was a member at that time. I may have been, but I am not positive.

Mr. MORRIS. What union did you represent?

Mr. VELSON. I represented the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. I was president of the port of New York district.

Mr. MORRIS. Saul Mills was the person running the Greater New York Industrial at that time?

Mr. VELSON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you frequently meet with Saul Mills?

Mr. VELSON. Very rarely. I don't think our local union was affiliated until much later. I may be mistaken, but I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. During this period, were you in frequent contact with Roy Hudson, the Communist Party functionary I asked you about before, this period of 1943-44, when you were on the executive board of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council?

Mr. VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you have any security clearance to move about, to have access to the waterfront, move on the waterfront?

Mr. VELSON. I don't work on the waterfront. I don't think you need any clearance, as far as I know, to go down—

Mr. MORRIS. You mean, it is unnecessary?

Mr. VELSON. I don't work—go on any piers.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't have to have Coast Guard clearance for your activity?

Mr. VELSON. I don't get any closer to the waterfront than maybe 4 or 5 blocks away.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know anything about this regulation of the Coast Guard, security regulations for the Coast Guard, as to who would have access to the waterfront? There have been some reports. Does that come within the scope of your work?

Mr. VELSON. Repeat that, please. I don't get your question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any experience whatever, or know anything about the Coast Guard requirements for securing people who will have access to the waterfront, who will work on the waterfront?

Mr. VELSON. I don't have access to the waterfront.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know anything about it?

Mr VELSON I know that there are some regulations, some of which I understand have been dumped by the circuit court of appeals.

Mr MORRIS Have you been working before against these regulations in any way?

Mr VELSON That isn't part of my activity I haven't taken any part, one way or the other, in it

Mr MORRIS We have testimony from Mr Louis Budenz, who used to be one of the editors of the Daily Worker, in executive session testimony, that you were working in the Communist underground section of the Communist Party with Alexander Stevens, who was also known as J Peters

Did you ever know J. Peters?

Mr VELSON I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment

Mr MORRIS Did you ever do any organizational work for Alexander Stevens, otherwise known as J Peters?

Mr VELSON. You are going too fast Will you repeat that?

Mr MORRIS Will the reporter read back the question?

(Question read)

Mr VELSON I didn't get it

Senator JENNER Did you ever do any organizational work for Alexander Stevens, otherwise known as J Peters?

Mr VELSON I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment

Mr MORRIS. Senator, I think Mr Budenz' testimony on this point, if not in our record at this point, I wonder if I may have permission to put it in the record

Senator JENNER It may go in the record

Mr MORRIS Mr Connors, staff member of the Internal Security Subcommittee, on August 23, 1951, was examining Mr Budenz, and the colloquy is as follows:

Mr CONNORS Mr Budenz, is it not correct that Alexander Stevens, otherwise known as J Peters, for a time controlled the underground section of the Communist Party?

Mr BUDENZ Yes, he decisively did He described himself to me, and I so swore at his trial for deportation, that he was the liaison officer between the Communist international apparatus in this country and the Soviet Secret Police In other words, he was the channel of clearance for espionage activities

Mr CONNORS Mr Budenz, within your recollection of Mr Velson and Mr Stevens, is there any point in common between the two men?

Did they work closely together?

Mr BUDENZ To my knowledge, Velson communicated with Peters and was under his direction for a period of time I can't give you the period I know that to be a fact

Now, did you ever work under the direction of Mr Peters?

Mr VELSON. I have already answered that question I declined to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment

Mr MORRIS In other words, you will not deny the testimony Mr Budenz has given in the record?

Mr VELSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment I don't think that constitutes affirmation or denial

Senator JENNER All right The witness will be excused

Call the next witness

Mr MORRIS. Mr Bershad

Mr BERSHAD Mr Chairman, before I am sworn, I request that there be no pictures taken while I am testifying

Senator JENNER While you are testifying there will be no pictures. It is all right for these gentlemen to take pictures prior to your testimony

Do you want to be sworn now?

Mr. BERSHAD Yes.

Senator JENNER Will you swear that the testimony given at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERSHAD. I do

Senator JENNER. You may be seated

Proceed, Mr. Morris, with the questioning of the witness.

TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM J. BERSHAD, BROOKLYN, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS Will you give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Bershad?

Mr. BERSHAD My name is Abraham Joseph Bershad.

Mr. MORRIS Will you spell that?

Mr. BERSHAD. B-e-r-s-h-a-d.

Mr. MORRIS And where do you reside?

Mr. BERSHAD 386 Sixth Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS And what is your occupation, Mr. Bershad?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under my constitutional rights, as guaranteed in the first amendment, and under my constitutional privileges, as guaranteed in the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean, you will not even tell this committee what your occupation is?

Mr. BERSHAD I have already answered that question.

Mr. MORRIS The question relates to now, sir.

Senator JENNER Let the record show that his refusal to answer on the first amendment is overruled, that his refusal to answer on the fifth amendment is recognized

Mr. MORRIS Now, Mr. Velson has told us in executive session that he has met with you and conversed with you from time to time. Do you know Mr. Velson?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. Same record, Miss Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS Have you had any organizational activities on the New York waterfront?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS Now, I wonder if you could tell us, Mr. Bershad, when you were last on the New York waterfront.

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been organizing Brooklyn longshoremen?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to offer this witness a photograph wherein there are four people May we show that to the witness?

Do you appear in that photograph?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS Well, your picture is right there; is it not?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS Will you identify the other gentlemen whose pictures appear in that photograph?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you ever see the man on the left, the extreme left, the tall gentleman on the left?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated

Mr. MORRIS Well, he is a Brooklyn longshore organizer; is he not?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS Now, may I see that picture? Irving Velson appears in this picture, does he not?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the previous grounds

Mr. MORRIS I would like to call your attention to the fact that this is a picture of the last witness, Mr. Irving Velson Mr. Jeff Kibre appears in this picture; does he not?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question

Mr. MORRIS I would like to submit the picture here of Jeff Kibre, who is similar to the Jeff Kibre who appeared here before this committee.

Mr. Bershada, you are in the foreground of this; are you not?

Mr. BERSHAD I have already declined to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS And you will not tell us what your experience or knowledge of the gentleman on the left, who has been described as a longshoreman organizer from Brooklyn?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS Mr. Chairman, may that photograph go into the record, just bearing on the answers given to the questions put to this particular witness?

Senator JENNER It will go into the record, and become a part of the official record of this committee

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No 290" and is reproduced below)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bershada, where were you born?

Mr. BERSHAD I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y.,

Mr. MORRIS In what year?

Mr. BERSHAD September 28, 1925.

Mr. MORRIS I wonder if you will tell us what your educational background has been

Mr. BERSHAD I went to Public School 100 in Brooklyn, and then when my family moved to lower Manhattan, I went to Public School 65 and, I believe, Public School 20 Then I went to the High School of Music and Art in New York City I went 2 years at Brooklyn College, and, as to any further educational experience, I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated

Senator JENNER You went to the University of Michigan, didn't you?

Mr. BERSHAD. I refuse to answer.

EXHIBIT No 290



Senator JENNER. You were a Communist at the University of Michigan; weren't you?

Mr BERSHAD. I refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr MORRIS. Well, you were—

Senator JENNER. Just a moment.

For the reason that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr BERSHAD. I didn't hear that.

Senator JENNER. For what reason do you refuse?

Mr BERSHAD. I refuse to answer under the grounds previously stated, my constitutional rights under the first amendment, and my constitutional privileges under the fifth amendment.

Senator JENNER. Same record, Miss Reporter. Overruled as to the first amendment, recognized as to the fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, our information here indicates that the gentleman named Abraham J. Bershad—and that is your name; is it not?

Mr BERSHAD. Correct.

Mr MORRIS (continuing). Had been chairman of the Labor Youth League at Ann Arbor, Mich., in the 1950's.

Is that a fact?

Mr BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question.

Mr MORRIS. Were you associated with Ralph Neafus, the Ralph Neafus Communist Club in Ann Arbor, Mich., in the year 1948?

Mr BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously given.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1950, did you attend a State legislative meeting of the Labor Youth League, at Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. BERSHAD I refuse to answer that question under the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS In 1949, were you actively engaged in the affairs of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. BERSHAD I refuse to answer that question under the same grounds

Mr. MORRIS In 1950, did you aid the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. BERSHAD. I refuse to answer that question

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been organizing longshoremen in Brooklyn?

Mr. BERSHAD I think I have already declined to answer that question

Mr. MORRIS Do you know a man named Ben Glazier?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Ben Glazier, to your knowledge, associated with the ILWU?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you done any organizational work for a person named Tony Anastasia?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Anastasia?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS Have you applied for registration as a longshoreman with the Waterfront Commission?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS Do you know a longshoreman organizer named Joseph Banks?

Mr. BERSHAD. I refuse to answer that question under the grounds previously given

Mr. MORRIS Mr. Bershad, do you have any clearance, Coast Guard clearance, to be active on the water front, to have access to the various waterfront activities?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS When did you last see Harry Bridges?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the grounds previously stated

Mr. MORRIS Are you now a Communist, Mr. Bershad?

Mr. BERSHAD. I decline to answer that question

Mr. MORRIS Have you ever handled any finances or any money for Harry Bridges?

Mr. BERSHAD I decline to answer that question under the same grounds

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions

Senator JENNER. The witness will stand aside, be excused.

Call the next witness

Mr. MORRIS Mr. Keith is the next witness, Senator.

Senator JENNER. Are you ready to be sworn?

Will you swear that the testimony given at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr KEITH I do.

I request no pictures, and that the lights be turned off.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES L. KEITH, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Senator JENNER. Proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr MORRIS Mr. Keith, I wonder if you will give your full name and address to the reporter

Mr. KEITH Charles Lawrence Keith, 104 East 17th Street, New York City.

Mr MORRIS And what is your present occupation, Mr. Keith?

Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fourth, fifth, and ninth amendments of the Constitution.

Senator JENNER. Let the record show that the witness' refusal to answer under all the grounds stated with the exception of the fifth amendment will be overruled

Mr. MORRIS When have you last been on the New York waterfront?

Mr KEITH I decline to answer that question on the same grounds

Mr MORRIS Will you tell us whether you have had any direct or indirect relations with the Soviet Embassy?

Mr KEITH. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr MORRIS Have you received money, directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Embassy?

Mr KEITH. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds

Senator JENNER Same record, Miss Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS Have you expended any money in the organizational activities on the New York waterfront?

Mr KEITH. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr MORRIS Now, Mr. Chairman, John Lautner who testified here 2 weeks ago, has sworn that the present witness here today was active in the New York waterfront of the Communist Party, to his knowledge, while Lautner was a Communist in the party.

Do you know a man named John Lautner?

Mr KEITH I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr MORRIS Mr. Keith, you were an active Communist organizer in New York all during the war, were you not?

Mr KEITH I decline to answer that question.

Mr MORRIS. Now, in 1946—

Senator JENNER. For the same reasons?

Mr KEITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946, you were formally expelled from the Communist Party, were you not?

Mr KEITH I decline to answer that question for the same reasons

Mr MORRIS. There has been a notation to that effect in the Daily Worker.

While the subcommittee doesn't want to take any stock in the statements made therein, in the Daily Worker of April 5, 1948, you are listed as a renegade from the waterfront of the Communist Party.

Were you expelled from the Communist Party, as the Daily Worker says, in 1946?

Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer that question, Judge.
 Mr. MORRIS. Have you since made up with the Communist Party?
 Mr. KEITH. Same declination, sir.
 Mr. MORRIS. You will not tell us whether you are now actively a member of the Communist Party?
 Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer that question.
 Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Harry Bridges?
 Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.
 Mr. MORRIS. I take it you are not going to tell us anything about your activity in the New York waterfront?
 Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer.
 Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?
 Mr. KEITH. Rutland, Vt.
 Mr. MORRIS. When did you come to New York?
 Mr. KEITH. About 35 years ago.
 Mr. MORRIS. Thirty-five years ago?
 Mr. KEITH. Yes, sir.
 Mr. MORRIS. And what has been your educational experience?
 Mr. KEITH. Educated in New York City public schools and high school.
 Mr. MORRIS. And you will not tell us what job you have now?
 Mr. KEITH. I decline to answer that question, Judge.
 Senator JENNER. If there are no further questions, the witness will be excused.
 Call the next witness.
 Mr. MORRIS. I made reference to an article in the Daily Worker I would like to put that into the record for whatever evidentiary value it might have.
 Senator JENNER. It may go in the record and become part of the record.
 (The article appearing in the Daily Worker was marked "Exhibit No. 291" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 291

[Daily Worker, April 5, 1948]

LIST 15 RENEGADES FROM WATERFRONT COMMUNIST PARTY

The New York State board of the Communist Party yesterday released a list of dropped and expelled Communist Party members who are operating in the National Maritime Union to disrupt, through redbaiting, "all steps toward unity of the maritime unions whose contracts expire this June 15."

Working through a so-called rank-and-file caucus, the small band of renegades is aiding the enemies of the working class, said the Communist Party board. These individuals tried to cripple the waterfront section with factional fights, the board declared. Today they have found the logical end of the trail with "Trotzkyites, ACTU'ers, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic elements, FBI agents, and company stool pigeons," the Communist Party said.

The full statement follows:

The New York State board of the Communist Party feels it necessary at this time to bring to the attention of the entire membership of the party and to workers everywhere, the wrecking antiunion, antiparty activities of a small band of renegades from the Communist Party.

These renegades are today concentrating their activities among the maritime workers who are facing crucial struggles with the shipowners this June 15, and who face the combined attacks of the Government, the FBI, the shipowners and their agents who are out to destroy the powerful National Maritime Union as a progressive, militant rank-and-file union.

REDBATTING CAUCUS

These renegades are carrying out their disruptive antiunion activities on the waterfront through a so-called rank-and-file caucus which has been conducting a vicious redbaiting attack upon all progressive maritime workers. The program of this caucus is to defeat all steps toward unity of the maritime unions whose contracts expire this June 15, to undermine the powerful Wallace and third party movements among the seamen, to sell to the maritime workers the imperialist war policies of the Truman administration, especially the Marshall plan, and behind a whipped-up anti-Communist hysteria to capture the National Maritime Union for the shipowners.

These renegades are the active leaders of this rank-and-file caucus which consists of an alliance of Trotskyites, ACTU'ers, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic elements, FBI agents, and company stool pigeons. These renegades, who a short time ago were members of the Communist Party find themselves perfectly at home with all these degenerate anti-working-class elements because they have become completely fused with them. They have found the logical end of their trail.

Several years ago they started out as a factional grouping within the waterfront section of the Communist Party. They carried on an unprincipled attack upon the party and its leadership. They fought for a policy of capitulating to the enemies of the party and the union.

WEAKENED UNITY

Through their disruptive actions within the waterfront section of the party they weakened the unity of the party in the face of vicious enemy attacks. It was merely a short step from this unprincipled factional campaign within the party to complete amalgamation with notorious enemies of the working class.

Today they further attempt to mask their treachery through the publication of a newsletter called For n' Aft and they have set up a maritime committee for a Communist Party. Some of them try to capitalize on the prestige of your party by still calling themselves Communists. They hope by this to deceive the workers.

Some of these elements still attempt to maintain connections with honest workers and members of the Communist Party. It is for this reason, and especially because of the sharpness of the struggle, because of the increased attacks of the imperialist reaction upon the working class and our party using every weapon at their disposal that the State board feels it necessary at this time to reveal the names of these individuals.

The list includes

- M. Hedley Stone, dropped in 1945
- Jack Lawrenson, dropped in 1945
- Thomas Ray, dropped in 1945
- John Robinson, expelled in 1947
- David Drummond, dropped in 1946
- Charles Keith, expelled in 1946
- Joe Keller, expelled in 1947
- Bob Dupont, expelled in 1947
- Mrs. Evelyn Dupont, dropped in 1947, now working as secretary for the caucus
- Adrian Duffy, dropped in 1945
- Harry Alexander, dropped in 1946
- Stanley Rose, dropped in 1946
- H. Warner, dropped in 1945
- James Drury, expelled in 1946 (west coast)
- Joseph Sands, expelled, October 1947

Mr. MORRIS. The next witness is Sam Madell.

Mr. Madell and counsel, Mr. Recht, come forward, please.

Senator JENNER. Will you be sworn to testify?

Mr. RECHT. He is sworn already.

Mr. MORRIS. The Senator would like to have Mr. Madell sworn in open testimony.

Senator JENNER. Will you swear that the testimony given at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

I didn't get your answer.
Mr. MADELL. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF SAM MADELL, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED
BY CHARLES RECHT, HIS ATTORNEY**

Mr. MORRIS. You appear here by attorney today? You are appearing here with your attorney today?

Mr. MADELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Recht, inasmuch as you haven't been here now for some time, will you identify yourself for the record?

Mr. RECHT. My name is Charles Recht. My office is at 10 East 40th Street, New York City; mailing address, New York Postal Zone 16.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are appearing for Mr. Madell here today?

Mr. RECHT. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

Mr. Madell, John Lautner, in testifying here several weeks ago, identified you as a person who has been active in the New York waterfront and as a person who has been a Communist.

I wonder if you would tell us, Mr. Madell, what—can you give your address, by the way, to the reporter?

Mr. MADELL. My address is 222 West 23d Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your present occupation?

Mr. MADELL. Carpenter.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MADELL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently a Communist?

Mr. MADELL. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us the maiden name of your wife, Mr. Madell?

Mr. MADELL. Rosa L. Grapp.

Mr. MORRIS. The subcommittee has received evidence that you have been active on the New York waterfront. Have you been active on the New York waterfront?

Mr. MADELL. I refuse to answer, under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been the editor of Shape-Up, a publication of the Communist Party, waterfront section of New York?

Mr. MADELL. I refuse to answer, on the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. As to whether or not you were the editor of that publication?

(Mr. Madell nods head affirmatively.)

Mr. MORRIS. Has your wife been active in distributing films for Artkino, a Soviet film distributor?

Mr. MADELL. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know Harry Bridges? Have you ever met Harry Bridges?

Mr. MADELL. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr MORRIS Now, do you know a man named Joe Stack, who has been described to the committee as a long-time associate of Harry Bridges?

Mr MADELL I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr MORRIS Now, have you ever had any dealings, directly or indirectly, with the Soviet Embassy?

Mr MADELL I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr MORRIS Have you ever received any money, directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Embassy?

Mr MADELL I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr MORRIS Have you specifically ever received any money from Charles Keith?

Mr MADELL Same answer.

Mr MORRIS Well, will you tell us anything about your experiences on the New York waterfront?

Mr MADELL I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr MORRIS Will you tell us anything about your experiences with the publication Shape-Up?

Mr MADELL Same answer.

Mr MORRIS Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions

Senator JENNER The witness will be excused

Mr MORRIS May we put the following documents into the record?

Senator JENNER They may be incorporated as part of the record. (The documents referred to are as follows:)

NEW YORK, N Y, July 7, 1956.

HON HERMAN WELKER,
Senator from Idaho,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D C

DEAR SENATOR WELKER My attention has just been called by my friend, Victor Lasky, consultant to the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism, Inc, to the printed transcript of a hearing on March 8, 1956, before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws Since you were the only Senator present at this hearing, I write to you to request your assistance in obtaining immediate correction of a harmful and inaccurate reference to me.

On page 408 of the printed transcript, exhibit No 168, headed "Government Employees Connected With the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and Its Official Organ, Far East Spotlight," the following item appears

"Bernstein, David Former United States adviser to Philippine Government—Far East Spotlight, October 1947, page 7"

In inserting the entire list, Mr Morris added the "caveat that it purports only to be a compilation made by Mr Mandel, research director of the committee, in the course of trying to determine to what extent individuals connected with the United States Government have been associated with these publications and these organizations"

The fact is that I was never, in any way, connected or associated with these publications and these organizations To the extent that I knew of their existence at all I considered them then and now to be following the Communist Party line

If there was any reference to me by name on page 7 of the October 1947 issue of Far East Spotlight—and I myself was not aware of it at the time—I would judge by the date that it was a reference to or quotation from my book, the Philippine Story, which was published in September 1947

This book is available to you at the Library of Congress. It was among the first publications to identify the Communist leadership of the Huks in the Philippines. Its conclusions are perhaps best summed up in one sentence on page 259: "Unless the basic economic and social problems of the Philippines are solved wisely and fairly, with our help, there will always be the danger that the archipelago will fall within the Soviet orbit—and we will awaken abruptly to our weakness in the very place where we have thought ourselves strong." The book was not dignified with a review in the *Daily Worker*, so far as I know, but it was bitterly attacked in the *Daily People's World*. And my magazine writing on the Philippines as well as on many other subjects, since long before October 1947, make it clear that my understanding of the Communist threat predates that of many professional latterday anti-Communists.

Yet your subcommittee lists me as having been connected or associated with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and its official organ, *Far East Spotlight*. I suggest that this is hardly the way to protect the security of our country. I am sure you will agree that I am entitled to an apology and a retraction. And I look to you for advice on how best to obtain them.

Incidentally, the reference to me as "former United States adviser to Philippine Government" is also inaccurate. During the years when I was an adviser to President Manuel L. Quezon and President Sergio Osmeña, I was not in the employ of the United States Government but only of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

I would appreciate a prompt reply to this letter for a serious charge has been leveled against me and I like it no more than you would yourself if I were to describe you as having been connected or associated with Miss Maud Russell—for, after all, your name appears alongside hers many times in the committee print.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID BERNSTEIN

JULY 10, 1956

Mr. DAVID BERNSTEIN,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BERNSTEIN: I have received a copy of your letter to Senator Welker, dated July 7, 1956. Your statement will be placed into the record at our next hearing. We are glad to make this correction of the record which was taken from the *Far Eastern Survey* of October 1947.

Very truly yours,

BENJAMIN MANDEL,
Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION,
New York, N. Y., July 6, 1956

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: In accordance with your wire received this morning, enclosed is a copy of Mr. Corsi's award in the American Newspaper Guild and New York Times case.

If we can be of any further service, please do not hesitate to advise us.

Cordially yours,

J. NOBLE BRADEN,
Executive Vice President

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION, ADMINISTRATOR

VOLUNTARY LABOR ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL

*In the matter of the arbitration between American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO,
Local 3, Newspaper Guild of New York and the New York Times Co.*

AWARD OF ARBITRATION

I, the undersigned arbitrator, having been designated in accordance with the arbitration agreement entered into by the above-named parties, and dated

December 17, 1954, and having been duly sworn and having heard the proofs and allegations of the parties, award, as follows

The New York Times Co was justified in dismissing Jack Shafer for just and reasonable cause in accordance with the provisions of the collective-bargaining agreement

EDWARD P. CORSI, *Arbitrator*

JUNE --, 1956

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss

On this -- day of -----, 19--, before me personally came and appeared Edward P. Corsi, to me known to me to be the individual described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and he acknowledged to me that he executed the same
Case No L-16194-NY-L-38-56

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION, ADMINISTRATOR

VOI UNTARY LABOR ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL

*In the Matter of the Arbitration Between American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO,
Local 3, Newspaper Guild of New York and the New York Times Co*

L-16194-NY-L-38-56

OPINION

This arbitration is between the Newspaper Guild of New York (hereinafter referred to as the guild) and the New York Times Co (hereinafter referred to as the Times)

It concerns the dismissal by the Times of one Shafer, a copyreader on the foreign desk, and the demand of the guild that he be reinstated on the ground that the dismissal was in violation of the collective bargaining agreement between the Times and the guild.

A hearing was held by the arbitrator at the offices of the American Arbitration Association on March 26, 1956, at which time the facts were reviewed and the position of the parties amply explored

Also briefs were filed by the parties supplementing the testimony at the hearing

The arbitrator finds that there is essential agreement on the facts, which, briefly, are as follows

The Times first employed Mr Shafer in early 1949. His performance on the job was satisfactory. In addition to performing the duties of a copyreader, he acted as assistant night editor and on at least two occasions as night editor in charge

In describing the nature of his assignment, it was testified by representatives of the Times that Mr Shafer not only read the copy of the foreign news reaching his desk but he edited it, often revised it, and wrote headlines for it

It was testified also that he was often the last member of the staff to pass upon items of foreign news before this news finally appeared in print

Acting in this capacity, it is obvious that Mr Shafer had much influence in determining what items of news would be printed, where they would appear, and what headlines they would carry

It was generally agreed at the hearing before the arbitrator that the tasks assigned to Mr Shafer on the Times involved the exercise of sound judgment and discretion in a high degree

Mr Shafer enjoyed the full confidence of his superiors

On November 15, 1955, Mr Turner Catledge, the managing editor of the Times, informed Mr Shafer that he would be receiving a subpoena to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, popularly known as the Eastland committee, and Mr Catledge advised Mr Shafer that upon receipt of the subpoena he should relate to the Times what he knew to be the basis for his call by the Senate committee

After receiving the subpoena, Mr Shafer met with his attorney, Mr Needleman, and then contacted Mr Catledge who advised him to meet with Mr Loeb, the legal representative of the Times

At a meeting of Messrs Shafer, Needleman, and Loeb, on November 17, Mr Shafer related that he had joined the Communist Party in 1940, had become inactive after 1941, reactivated his membership in 1946, and finally resigned in 1949 before joining the staff of the Times

Later in the day of the 17th, the Times top level management was apprised of Mr Shafer's earlier disclosures to Mr Loeb

It was decided to dismiss Mr Shafer, but first to afford him the opportunity of resigning

As an immediate step pending final action and because at the time Mr Shafer was working on an important report of the Geneva Conference he was suspended

Mr Needleman advised Mr Loeb that Mr Shafer would not resign

On the 21st, Mr Shafer was informed that the Times had decided to dismiss him effective immediately.

Pursuant to the collective-bargaining agreement of November 1, 1954, the guild, as the bargaining representative of a number of Times employees, including Mr. Shafer, called for a grievance session to consider Mr. Shafer's dismissal

With Mr Shafer's permission, the Times disclosed to the guild the grounds for the dismissal of Mr Shafer

The grievance session ended without resolution. The guild then submitted the matter to arbitration in conformity with the collective agreement between the parties providing for arbitration in disputed matters of this sort

These, in a nutshell, are the facts. Now, what is the issue for arbitration?

Aside from such considerations as burden of proof, due notice, etc., raised by the guild and which the arbitrator considers important but not decisive, the controlling question, it seems to him, is whether or not Mr Shafer was dismissed in accordance with the provisions of the agreement between the parties and specifically with article XI-2 of that agreement, which reads

"There shall be no dismissal except for good and sufficient cause"

In defense of its action in dismissing Mr Shafer, the Times insists that Mr Shafer's membership in the Communist Party, his original membership in 1940 and the reactivation of this membership in 1946, is, in view of his sensitive position on the staff (which involved the handling of news from the Communist countries of the world), a justifiable cause for loss of confidence which, in turn, is good and sufficient cause for the discharge of an employee in the type of sensitive job held by Mr Shafer

It comments

"The employment clearly should end when there is good reason to believe that the employee lacks the requisite judgment and discretion. Nor should the result be any different merely because the employee's past job performance has been unexceptional. In other words, if despite a satisfactory job performance, there nevertheless exist good and sufficient grounds for losing confidence in the employee, there is good and sufficient cause for discharge"

The guild retorts:

"Shafer's dismissal by the Times was not for 'good and sufficient cause,' since the stated cause of 'loss of confidence' related exclusively to anticipated guilt rather than actual misconduct and was wholly subjective and unreviewable and a total negation of the contract right not to be dismissed summarily"

Further

"The basic vice of the phrase 'loss of confidence' as the Times uses it, is that it is put forth as a conclusion which is meant to stand unaided by supporting evidence. But clearly such an approach is not sufficient to justify a discharge. The Times must also prove that its conclusions are reasonable ones"

In other words, "loss of confidence," according to the guild, cannot be a subjective conclusion beyond evidentiary proof; on the contrary, it must be a conclusion arrived at on the basis of specific instances of misbehavior themselves justifying the loss of confidence

These and other forceful arguments, ably presented by counsel for the parties, have had very serious consideration by the arbitrator, particularly the argument of the guild with reference to "loss of confidence" as a mere subjective reaction

In any ordinary case of dismissal involving this element of "loss of confidence," the arbitrator should have no difficulty in finding for the dismissed employee if the loss of confidence were based on nothing more than an unreasonable anticipation of future malperformance or nonperformance

Labor has every right to guard itself against the whims of employers whose decisions rest on mere subjective fears not grounded in objective reality

But this is not the case here

The Times' loss of confidence in Mr Shafer is not a loss of confidence in a vacuum. It is not unreasonable and arbitrary. It is not the mere whim of an unconscionable employer callous to the rights of his employees. On the contrary, the Times' loss of confidence in Mr Shafer rests on a "reviewable fact"—Mr Shafer's identification with the Communist cause, his membership in the

party and the reactivation of that membership at a critical stage of our national life—which is not denied by the testimony of the guild and which bears directly and in a most telling manner on the sensitive job held by Mr Shafer in the handling of Communist news

The arbitrator has been influenced greatly in his decision by the repeated affirmations of the Times, at the arbitrator's hearing and in the brief submitted to him by counsel for the Times, that Mr Shafer was not dismissed simply because he had been a member of the Communist Party, although the Times made much of the repeated membership in the party, but because, having been a Communist, he was not the proper person to handle the particularly sensitive position of dealing with foreign news generally and news from the Communist world specifically

According to the Times, if I interpret its testimony correctly, Mr Shafer was not the proper person to handle the specific sensitive job on the foreign-news desk because he did not inspire the adequate and required confidence that the Times expects of the men on that job

To the arbitrator's direct question "Would you have dismissed Mr Shafer had his job been on the sports desk rather than the foreign-news desk," Mr Loeb answered without hesitation, "No"

Times' counsel has emphasized over and over again that loss of confidence in Mr Shafer was related directly to and indissolubly to the specific job Mr. Shafer was doing and not merely to the fact that he had once been a Communist.

To assume that in the face of Mr Shafer's own admissions to Mr. Loeb, the Times should have continued to employ Mr Shafer on his sensitive job, regardless of its doubts and lack of confidence in Mr Shafer's ability to do the kind of job the Times wanted done is to deny to the Times' management and those responsible for its policies that exercise of reasonable administrative judgment which of necessity must be the prerogative of newspaper management

For a newspaper of the character of the Times, the success of which rests not alone on the objectivity of its world news coverage but on the conviction of its readers that the coverage is objective and fair, is in itself as a leading organ of public information and opinion a sensitive operation to be handled on the basis of a maximum confidence in the men who run it

The Times' management has the right to be certain that the men who read, edit, and headline the news will do the kind of job expected of them not alone by the Times itself but by the public which reads and supports the Times

It is unfair to assume that this particular kind of a public enterprise take chances on the kind of a job an employee will or will not do in whom it and its readers have not the required confidence

Mr Catledge, in the arbitrator's opinion, expressed succinctly and convincingly the ingredients of the Times' loss of confidence in Mr Shafer when he said:

"Not only must we be sure that the person who handles our (Communist) news is not pro-Communist. We must be equally sure that he will not lean backward to prove that he is not a Communist or no longer a Communist."

Mr Shafer could give the Times no such assurance, his record on the job notwithstanding. The Times was justified in dismissing him for "just and reasonable cause" in accordance with the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement

EDWARD P. CORSI, *Arbitrator*.

Dated June —, 1956

(Following is the medical report on John Steuben, referred to on p 1635.)

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
County of Hunterdon, ss:

Robert R. Henderson, of full age, being duly sworn according to law, on his deposes and says

During Mr John Steuben's revisit to our diagnostic center on March 26, 1956, he asked if I would again write with information concerning his present condition, and whether he would be in danger if he were to stand trial. Please see my previous letter to you dated September 15, 1955, for past details.

Since that time I have seen him at intervals of approximately 3 weeks and I believe that he has had some symptomatic relief during this time. However, he is continuing to take the digitalis, serpasil, paritrate, nitroglycerin, and evening sedation in the form of barbiturates. Several months following the radioactive iodine therapy he noted decreasing anginal pain but continuing

dyspnea with any physical exertion, i e, with each meal. He told me during February 1956 that he felt able to do 1 or 2 hours of work (I believe writing) each day. However, he found this was not the case, and he continued to complain of increasing mental sluggishness, fatigue, and lethargy. From time to time he has had other symptoms indicating increasing congestive heart failure which require injections of mercurial diuretic. During his visit Monday and on the previous visit he complained of increasing pain concomitant with a slight decrease in his mental sluggishness. Therefore, we are considering repeating his radioactive iodine uptake with the view of evaluating the necessity for further radioactive iodine therapy.

Essentially, then, it appears to me that we have succeeded in making him more comfortable if he leads a sedentary life and does not leave the confines of his home. However, I do not feel that his prognosis or life expectancy have altered nor do I feel that he is medically able to stand trial without endangering his life. I do not expect his underlying cardiac status to improve, but rather to gradually deteriorate, and therefore, I doubt very much if my medical opinion in regard to a trial would alter. On 2 occasions in the past 6 months he has traveled to New York City and on both occasions has had considerable difficulty with chest pain, etc.

ROBERT R. HENDERSON, M.D.

Sworn and subscribed to before me a notary public at Flemington, N.J., on April 11, 1956

[SEAL]

MILDRED E. SINCLAIR

My commission expires December 11, 1957

HUNTERDON MEDICAL CENTER,
Flemington, N.J., May 26, 1955

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr. John Steuben, rural delivery 2, box 58A, Flemington, N.J., was first admitted to this hospital in April 1955. He has remained hospitalized since that time but for a 2-day interval, May 21 to May 23, 1955.

His diagnosis is that of—

Cardiac hypertensive and arteriosclerotic heart disease,

Enlarged heart, coronary sclerosis, myocardial fibrosis, old myocardial infarction,

RSR,

II-C to III-D

Severe and recurrent angina pectoris

Essential hypertension

Mr. Steuben has a long history of difficulty with hypertensive and arteriosclerotic cardiovascular disease. He has had recurrent, severe, and disabling precordial pain so that he has been completely and totally disabled in the past. He was treated for his hypertension with apresoline, with successful control of his blood pressure. However, during this therapy he was noted to run a low-grade fever which has persisted in spite of cutting the above medication. At the present time, we are attempting to discover the etiology of this febrile course. His prognosis is quite guarded, and I am certain that he will have to be considered completely and totally disabled upon discharge from this hospital. He should also have special care at home since he is very limited in his activities and notes distress with mild to moderate exertion.

ROBERT R. HENDERSON, M.D.
Assistant Director of Internal Medicine

NEW YORK, N.Y., February 4, 1955

To Whom It May Concern:

In regard to the present condition of Mr. John Steuben, reference is made to the report and consultation of Dr. Arthur C. DeGraff of July 14, 1954.

Examination today reveals no great change since July 1954 with the following exceptions. The left ventricle which previously was moderately enlarged is now markedly enlarged. Right posterior tibial artery which previously was open is now no longer palpable. The hypertensive hemorrhagic retinitis has been

severely aggravated, particularly in the right eye where many hemorrhages have occurred

The above findings indicate unfavorable progression of the hypertensive arteriosclerotic cardiovascular disease which is accompanied by severe angina pectoris. It is still apparent that it would be both unwise and dangerous for Mr. Steuben to undertake a trip to Chicago or to be subjected to giving testimony and being cross-examined.

Yours truly,

ROBERT V SAGER, M D

NEW YORK, N Y, July 14, 1954

Re Mr. John Steuben,
40-50 Denman Street,
Elmhurst, Long Island

Dr. ROBERT V SAGER,
New York, N Y

DEAR DR SAGER: Mr. Steuben came to my office this morning, as suggested by you, for a complete heart examination. He was accompanied by his wife. You were present later for the discussion. The following is my report of this examination.

Family history: Mr. Steuben's father died at the age of 73. His mother died of hypertension at the age of 63. He has 1 brother and 3 sisters living and well. A half-brother is not in good health, but the exact cause of his illness is not known. Mr. Steuben has two children living and well.

Habits: Coffee—formerly drank a great deal of coffee. He now limits himself to 2 or 3 cups of coffee in the morning and 1 cup at night. Alcohol—only an occasional drink. Tobacco—he was formerly a heavy smoker, smoking up to 3 packages of cigarettes a day. He now smokes about 1½ packages of cigarettes a day. He sleeps rather poorly at night. He is awakened by shortness of breath. Occupation—is editor of magazine.

History: Mr. Steuben had his appendix removed in 1949 and an operation on the left kidney for removal of stones in 1951. For some time, Mr. Steuben has noticed some difficulty in breathing, particularly on walking up hills. When he was smoking heavily, he thought this was due to his heavy cigarette smoking. He also thought the pains in his chest might be on a muscular basis or might also be secondary to his kidney difficulties. On the weekend of June 19, 1953, he was particularly short of breath and had a great deal of chest pain on and off. On June 20, 1953, during dinner, he got very short of breath and had severe pressure across his chest. He was living in Chicago at that time. He called in Dr. Quentin Young of 1525 East 53d Street, Chicago, Ill. Dr. Young called an ambulance immediately and sent Mr. Steuben to the Woodlawn Hospital, where he remained for about a week. A diagnosis of left ventricular failure was made at that time. The blood pressure was considerably elevated, 220 mm Hg. Mr. Steuben was advised to rest and to avoid physical effort as much as possible. This was rather difficult because he lived in an apartment on the third floor of a walkup apartment building. Therefore, he was mostly house confined. He was put on digitoxin, 0.1 milligram a day, and also given penicillin every 4 hours. Sometime in late October or early November 1953, he got very much worse and was put back in the hospital again. At that time, an attempt was made to give him hexamethonium for his hypertension, but after 3 days this drug was stopped because of severe reactions. At the end of November 1953, Mr. Steuben moved to Elmhurst where he is living at the present time. He had previously seen you on a visit to New York in June 1953, so he put himself under your care. His condition, instead of improving, got gradually worse, so in January 1954 you advised him not to travel to and from his office. Since January 1954 Mr. Steuben has remained mostly at home. On 3 or 4 occasions, he tried to go out to a neighborhood restaurant for a meal but had so much shortness of breath when he returned home that he has given that up. Recently, he has begun to cough quite a bit and vomits after nearly every meal. He has many attacks of chest pain of a gnawing type with radiation to the left arm, for which he takes nitroglycerin frequently. The pain in his chest radiating to the left arm occurs on walking even at a slow pace, after eating, when he has company at his home, and also on emotional stress even though the emotional stress is not very marked. He has been on a low-sodium, almost salt-free diet for some months. Over the weekend of July 4, 1954, he woke up one morning with a sense of cloudiness in the right eye. He saw Dr. B. Kimmelman, an

ophthalmologist, of 10 Downing Street, New York, N Y, who found that there were hemorrhages in the right eye. The condition has cleared up to some extent, but Mr. Steuben is still bothered by cloudiness of vision in the right eye. At night, Mr. Steuben has difficulty in sleeping because he gets quite short of breath. He sleeps on several pillows and even then finds it necessary at times to get up out of bed and sit in a chair. In addition to the medication which was prescribed originally by Dr. Young and which he is still taking, you have put him on Raudixin and sedatives. On June 16, 1954, his sedimentation rate was found to be quite elevated. The hemoglobin is normal. The Wassermann test was negative. Urine examinations have shown the presence of albumin from time to time.

Physical examination. Age 47. Weight, 124 pounds. Height, 61 inches. Temperature by mouth, 98.4° F. His general condition is fair. His face is flushed. There is no dyspnea at rest. He is able to lie fairly flat on the examining table without discomfort. The retinal examination shows the presence of exudate in the right fundus on the temporal side of the disc. The retinal arteries are narrow and fragmented. There are no fresh hemorrhages. The pupils are equal and react to light and accommodation. There is no exophthalmos. Many teeth are missing, the remaining teeth are in poor condition. The pharynx is negative. No lymph nodes are palpable in the neck. The thyroid gland is not felt. The lungs are clear. The vital capacity is 2,400 cubic centimeters. The liver and spleen are not felt. There is no edema of the lower extremities.

Heart. The apex beat is palpable in the fifth space, 9 centimeters to the left of the midline. The rhythm is regular. The rate is 76 per minute. The first heart sound at the apex is somewhat valvular in quality. A₂ is louder than P₂. A systolic murmur can be heard over the entire precordial area. This murmur is quite loud and is rough in character at the apex. There is no diastolic murmur. The radial and brachial arteries are palpable and thickened. The blood pressure is 212/126. The fluoroscopic examination shows a moderate enlargement of the left ventricle. This is particularly noted when the heart is viewed in the left oblique position. The width of the aorta is within normal limits. The electrocardiogram shows an inverted T wave in Lead I, a biphasic T wave in Lead II, some elevation of the S-T segment at VR, an inverted T wave at VL, and inverted T waves at V₂, V₃, V₄, V₅, and V₆. There is also some depression of the S-T segment at V₄, V₅, and V₆. In addition to my own electrocardiogram, I reviewed two electrocardiograms which you brought to the office with you. The one dated December 4, 1953, shows an inverted T wave in Lead I and inverted T waves at all the chest points. There is an isoelectric T wave in Lead II. The electrocardiogram taken on June 15, 1954, shows the T wave inversions in various leads to be greater and there is now an inverted T wave in Lead II. These changes would indicate some progression in the cardiac condition between December 4, 1953, and June 15, 1954.

Discussion. Mr. Steuben has advanced hypertensive and arteriosclerotic heart disease with enlargement of the left ventricle and evidence of left ventricular strain and also coronary artery insufficiency. The fact that he has had only recently hemorrhages in the right eye would indicate that his condition is rather precarious. Mr. Steuben complained to me of some numbness in his left thumb and also numbness of his lips. This may suggest that he has some vascular spasm in the region of the internal capsule and might easily, if subjected to any emotional strain which would increase the level of his blood pressure, have a cerebral hemorrhage. Mr. Steuben in my opinion should be kept at home spending his time resting in a chair or in bed. He is certainly not able to travel to Washington nor should he be subjected to any emotional strain at this time. In view of the fact that the electrocardiograms have shown progressive changes since December, there is a definite possibility that Mr. Steuben will not be able to improve sufficiently to increase his activities beyond what I have advised. He should of course remain on a salt-free diet. I would advise continuance of the Raudixin, digitalis and Peritrate. He should take nitroglycerin whenever he has the slightest bit of chest pain. He should also stop smoking.

In view of the findings in my examination today, I am of the opinion that it would not only be unwise but dangerous for Mr. Steuben to be subjected to the strain of giving testimony or being cross-examined at this time.

I appreciate very much your referring Mr. Steuben to me for examination.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR C. DEGRAFF, M. D.

Two copies of this report Standard and unipolar leads of electrocardiogram Orthodiagram

(The following press release of the Department of State was ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee on June 18, 1956)

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON, D C

ADVANCE RELEASE FOR MONDAY MORNING PAPERS, JUNE 18, 1956

The Soviet Union is aiming a sharply stepped-up propaganda drive at the movie audiences of the world, the United States Information Agency said today.

According to Turner B. Shelton, Chief of the Information Agency's Motion Picture Service, there has been a steep rise in Soviet film production, with the emphasis on films of the highest quality, pictures designed to win international acclaim for Communist "cultural achievements."

In a report to Agency Director Theodore C. Streibert, Shelton said that the Soviet Union has indicated it will produce 120 feature films a year by 1960, as compared with an announced quota of 75 this year, 65 in 1955, and 38 in 1954. In addition, he said, the Soviet satellites and Communist China also are expanding their film production along the Moscow-dictated lines. Soviet films, he noted, currently are being shown in 59 countries.

"Communist countries are out to win worldwide recognition through the production of box-office hits," Shelton said. "They are sparing no effort—and no expense—to turn out lavish color extravaganzas that contain no blatant propaganda but that are, actually, subtle devices to sell the Soviet Union as the cultural center of the world."

According to his report, the U S S R is spending millions of dollars a year on feature films and documentaries.

Two distinct types of films are being produced by the Communists, Shelton said. One is the "sweetness and light" variety for export to the countries that ban the showing of outright propaganda films, and the other is the obvious propaganda film for countries where such showings can be obtained.

Among "sweetness and light" films Shelton listed the Soviet's "Othello," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Circus," Communist China's "Loves of Ling Shan Pao," and Czechoslovakia's puppet shows and special effects films which display unusual artistry.

The Communist bloc, Shelton said, also is stepping up production of documentary films. Communist China, for example, has announced it will produce 220 new reels and documentaries this year.

"Soviet propagandists take advantage of every opportunity to turn out expensive documentaries that will attract foreign audiences," Shelton said. "One prize example is the \$750,000, 14-reel color documentary which the Soviets made during India's Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union last year. This film promptly was shipped to India for countrywide showings."

According to Shelton, the Communist film campaign is "just beginning." The Soviet Union, Communist China, and Soviet satellite countries, he said, are constructing huge film studios with Hollywood-type sets. Communist China, he declared, plans to turn out 40 feature films this year, as compared with 20 in 1955. In addition, the Communist Chinese plan construction of a new film studio in 1957.

"Communist countries," Shelton said, "have little difficulty peddling their films, even in free countries. Where distribution presents a problem, they subsidize box offices, lease theaters, and enlist the help of 'front' organizations, such as film societies, 'friendship' groups, and social clubs."

Senator JENNER: There being no further witnesses, the committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12.30 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The following opinion and award of an arbitration board in the case of Daniel Mahoney, discharged employee of the New York Daily

Mirror, was ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee on November 21, 1956)

IN THE MATTER OF THE ARBITRATION BETWEEN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD,
AFL-CIO, AND NEW YORK MIRROR DIVISION—THE HEARST CORPORATION

(L-16193—NY-L-37-56)

OPINION AND AWARD

There is here presented for determination and award the question whether there was good and sufficient cause for the dismissal of Daniel Mahoney by the Daily Mirror as required by the collective bargaining agreement between the parties which provides.

"Section 6—Job Security

"(a) there shall be no dismissal except for good and sufficient cause "

THE FACTS

Daniel Mahoney was employed by the New York Daily Mirror in 1934. Except for a period of service in the Armed Forces during World War II, he was continuously employed by the Mirror. He was a rewrite man in January 1956.

On January 5, 1956, he was summoned before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He stated, under oath, that he was not then a Communist. Queried about past membership, he refused to answer, exercising his constitutional privilege against possible self-incrimination. He was summarily discharged by the Mirror because, "Your course of conduct has terminated your usefulness to the New York Mirror."

A portion of Mahoney's testimony before said subcommittee follows verbatim.

"Mr. SOURWINE: How long have you worked for the New York Mirror?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: I can cover this, if the committee will allow me. I have a very brief statement here, sir."

"Chairman EASTLAND: No, no, sir. No, sir. No, sir, we don't—you will have to answer questions. You will have to answer questions. We are trying to accommodate you."

"Mr. MAHONEY: I will answer the questions, sir."

"Chairman EASTLAND: All right, we are trying to accommodate your lawyer and we are trying to get through."

"Mr. MAHONEY: Yes, sir. I say—"

"Chairman EASTLAND: Answer the questions."

"Mr. MAHONEY: Sir."

"Chairman EASTLAND: Proceed again."

"Mr. MAHONEY: May I appeal again? I have a brief statement. I would appreciate it if the committee would allow me to read it."

"Chairman EASTLAND: No, sir, I will not permit the statement. We want certain information from you, and counsel will ask the questions. Now proceed."

"Mr. MAHONEY: May I enter the statement into the record?"

"Chairman EASTLAND: We will receive it."

(The statement referred to will be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

"Mr. SOURWINE: How long have you been employed by the Mirror?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: For almost 22 years."

"Mr. SOURWINE: In what capacity, sir?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: Various—currently I am a news writer."

"Mr. SOURWINE: You mean a reporter?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: I have been a reporter, yes, sir."

"Mr. SOURWINE: You say you are a news writer now. Are you on the desk? Are you a rewrite—"

"Mr. MAHONEY: I am a linotype and I am a rewrite man."

"Mr. SOURWINE: You are a rewrite?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: Yes."

"Mr. SOURWINE: Mr. Mahoney, are you presently a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: No, sir, I am not."

"Mr. SOURWINE: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. MAHONEY: Sir, I'd like to answer it this way. Not only am I not a member of the Communist Party, but never in my life have I performed a disloyal or

subversive act of treason, sabotage, espionage I have broken no laws beyond the traffic violation I have never advocated defiance—

"Chairman EASTLAND Now, Mr Mahoney—

"Mr MAHONEY. Of the law of the Supreme Court of the United States

"Chairman EASTLAND You have not been accused—not been accused of any of those acts Please make your answers responsive to the questions

"Mr MAHONEY I am trying

"Chairman EASTLAND I think that your counsel will advise you, sir, that that is the proper thing to do

"Mr MAHONEY Well, I am trying to do so, sir

"Chairman EASTLAND All right Now the question was, Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

"Mr MAHONEY Well, sir, in view of the other remarks I made and in view of the fact that the committee has told me that there are no charges against me, I decline to answer the second half of that question

"Mr SOURWINE As to whether you ever were a member?

"Mr MAHONEY Yes, sir, as being an invasion of my rights as a citizen, as a newspaperman, and I feel it is an abridgement of the freedom of the press

"Chairman EASTLAND I overrule that and order and direct you to answer

"Mr MAHONEY Well, sir, I am sorry the committee does not choose to recognize the first amendment and, in view of that, I am forced to avail myself of the privileges of the fifth amendment, also

"Chairman EASTLAND All right"

THE POSITION OF THE PARTIES

The issue presented is one of "studied simplicity" The one hearing held in the matter was as brief as it was pointed There were no allegations by the employer of employee unrest, impaired morale, etc., as a result of Mahoney's action There were no allegations by the employer of loss of circulation, or advertisers There were no allegations that Mahoney's writing had been biased, slanted, or influenced in any manner

The Mirror asserts that solely because of Mahoney's public testimony, it was afforded "good and sufficient" cause for his dismissal The Mirror buttresses this contention by citing the ruling of the New York State Unemployment Insurance Commission that Mahoney's conduct (his public testimony) constituted misconduct, "detrimental to the employer's interest" This finding by a disinterested agency, the Mirror urges, supported and corroborated the Mirror's determination that its action was reasonable and just in dismissing Mahoney.

The guild contends that an employer is subject to a heavy burden of proof in any discharge case That, indeed, the employer must set forth clear and convincing, factual, nonspeculative evidence that is capable of objective review That in this particular case, there is but one fact or charge produced against Mahoney The charge? That he exercised a privilege against possible self-incrimination, a right guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States The guild states that, absent proof of any other facts relating to Mahoney's competency, or of damage to the Mirror, the action of the Mirror can only be considered unreasonable and arbitrary

The issue presented, accordingly, could not be more simple nor, ironically, more complex

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

Written into the Bill of Rights over 150 years ago, and having roots in the law of England centuries ago, the fifth amendment has been especially subject to close scrutiny and debate in the last decade Advanced methods of communication, such as television, have made the American public vitally conscious of the fifth amendment and its utilization by criminals and persons suspect of crime Regrettably, a large segment of the public has concluded that a person, availing himself of the fifth amendment, is what he is accused of being, or did that which he is accused of doing Thus was coined the presumptive appellation "fifth-amendment Communist," sorely troubling to many, and stirring up a storm of protest and condemnation in its wake

The Supreme Court of the United States, obviously cognizant that a person exercising his constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, raises a grave doubt as to his freedom from guilt, and that current popular opinion views the invocation of the fifth amendment as a certainty of guilt, met the issue with forthright resolution In clear and ringing language our highest Court, in April

of this year, reaffirmed the legal maxim that the fifth amendment is for the protection of the innocent as well as the guilty.

"The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury" (*Slochower v Board of Education of New York*, 100 L. Ed. 451, 454).

But we are not here concerned with the legal implications of a person's refusal to testify. The Constitution is concerned with criminal prosecution. " * * * nor shall (anyone) be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself * * *" (U. S. C. A. Const. Amend. V, p. 102) and not with all the peripheral effects of pleading the fifth amendment.

The Constitution does not guarantee to a person, exercising the privilege against self-incrimination, his job, the respect of his neighbors, or an absence in the minds of his fellow workers and employer of a gnawing doubt as to his guiltlessness.

COMMUNISM IN AMERICA

There can be little doubt in the mind of any reasonable individual of the purpose of the Communist conspiracy today. It is ultimate world domination.

During the thirties, men of good faith, despairing of the economic chaos in our country, were easily deluded by the "golden apple" of communism. Fighting in the forties side by side with the Communists in an effort to suppress the international menace of nazism and fascism, it was easy to be confused as to the ultimate purposes of the Communists. But there comes a time where realization must arrive—perhaps in the late forties, but certainly no later than the Korean conflict. Anyone aiding, abetting, or partaking in the Communist conspiracy after that date cannot be a dupe, but rather a danger to the community.

In the year of Our Lord 1956, communism is a major menace to the free world, to our democratic way of life, and to the private enterprise system. We cannot ignore these truths, we cannot romanticize or semanticize them away, we cannot wish them away, we can but accept them in their nakedness.

DISCUSSION

Ironically enough, our democratic way of life extends its protection even to those who have neither regard, belief, nor faith in its principles. Under collective-bargaining agreements requiring good cause for dismissal, persons in this category may have job security. As such, it may not be ignored that if the newspaper business cannot be termed "vital" and/or if Mahoney's position on the *Mirror* cannot be termed "sensitive," then the very foundation for "good and sufficient" cause, as urged by the *Mirror*, could crumble. In this age of "perpetual peril," the various mediums of mass communication are vital to our national security. The titans of the world are locked in a struggle cryptically described as a "cold war." It is a war of ideologies, of ideas, or propaganda. It is a battle for the approbation of the uncommitted nations of the world.

A metropolitan newspaper in America today is more than a "mirror" to the happenings of the day. It is a mold of public opinion, capable of leading crusades, capable of introducing new ideas, capable of propagating truth or propaganda as it will. But its very nature, whether it would abdicate or not, a newspaper maintains a position of leadership and responsibility in this "cold war" that is vital to our national security. Other industries (atomic energy, defense, etc.) may be more vital, but this fact does not impair the "vital" role of our press.

Each worker performs his task in life with tools, and these tools run the gamut from an axe to a zither. The "rewrite" man has his tools, too. They are words. Words but express ideas and so it follows that the "rewrite" man works all day with ideas. This is a war of ideas. Can his position be then deemed nonsensitive? A "rewrite" man can select the facts he considers important as related to him by the reporter in the field. His is the choice of the topic sentence and lead paragraph. His selection of words sets forth the tone of the article and influences, too, the choice of headline. The conclusion is irresistible that a "rewrite" man occupies a "sensitive" position on a newspaper.

The contention that the product of a "rewrite" man is subject to check by others before it reaches the public cannot impair this conclusion. The "rewrite" man's skilled use of words and phrases, the background of constant deadline, the fact that his reviewers are at least thrice removed from the actual news event, the lulling effect of daily association coupled with a practical attitude to accept the product of an experienced hand without undue scrutiny—all these make

ultimate detection and exposure far from simple, and, in all probability, long delayed. What difference does it make that a rewrite man may ultimately be caught? The undeniable fact is that he is in a position where he has the opportunity and capacity to do incalculable harm if he is so inclined. What more is needed to define his job as truly "sensitive"?

CONCLUSION

As stated, the issue here presented is simply—Was the public testimony of Mahoney "good and sufficient cause for his discharge?"

The impact of Mahoney's testimony before the Senate committee was to raise a grave and gnawing doubt in the mind of his employer as to his association and connection with the Communist conspiracy. Was it during the understandable and, perhaps, forgivable, period of the thirties and early forties? Or was it during the subsequent period of necessary universal awakening to and realization of the menacing and heinous designs of communism? Did it end when Mahoney received his subpoena? Did it last until his actual appearance before the committee? Must the Mirror accept the travail of "watchfully wondering"?

Mahoney had no illusion about the impact of his public refuge behind the fifth amendment insofar as the Mirror was concerned. Witness the following excerpt of his statement:

"If the committee possesses no such evidence (showing story slant or distortion), then it should clearly state so in the interest of being fair so that doubt or suspicion of my honesty and objectivity as a newspaperman may be removed and that the confidence of my employer in me may not be impaired."

If Mahoney felt that his mere call to appear before a subcommittee would cause doubt in his employer's mind, then a fortiori his attitude and demeanor toward the subcommittee, his refusal to answer pertinent questions about his relationship with the conspiracy called Communist must shatter his employer's confidence irreparably.

Yet Mahoney remained mute and this adamant attitude continued through the hearing of this arbitration when he knew that his very livelihood was "on the line." His eloquent silence before the subcommittee poses these unanswerable questions for his employer: What were Mahoney's allegiances, a decade, a year, a month, a day before January 5, 1956? A newspaper is entitled to know the answer to these questions with respect to communism in relation to a "rewrite" man, especially when publicly posed. It was reasonable for the Mirror to dismiss an employee who refused to supply the answers to these questions.

AWARD

The dismissal of Daniel Mahoney was for "good and sufficient cause," as required by the collective bargaining agreement between the parties hereto.

BURTON B. TURKUS, *Arbitrator*

Dated New York, N. Y., November 6, 1956

W. N. THOMSON,
Arbitrator, Concurring
JOHN J. GREEN,
Arbitrator, Concurring

M. MICHAEL POTOKER,
Arbitrator, Dissenting
JAMES WHITTAKER,
Arbitrator, Dissenting

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NOTE—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the names of an individual or an organization in this index

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 2-21-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: INTERNAL SECURITY
 SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY
 SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The following volume of testimony has been received from the Committee and has been forwarded to Mr. Joseph Sizoo in the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling and return to my office for return to the Committee:

Volume 89, at Washington, D. C., February 19, 1957

Testimony of General Bela K. Kiraly in Public Session

cc - Mr. Sizoo

LBN:jp
 (3)

RECORDED - 1

INDEXED - 1

EX-164

20 MAR 1 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/84 BY SP-1 JY/actg

ESP/SEC

b7C

2 Photostats of Testimony
 made of original
 Transcript returned
 to Mr. Nichols 2/26/57
 jss:

11/15/57
 11/15/57
 11/15/57

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE February 27, 1957

FROM : Mr. Branigan

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY OF HUNGARIAN REFUGEES
BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE, VOLUME 89, PUBLIC
SESSION, FEBRUARY 19, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/84 BY SP7 JAC/gc

FOIA 240081

Two Photostats of the stenographic transcript of the above testimony have been prepared and are attached. The original transcript was returned to Mr. Nichols on 2-26-57 for return to the Subcommittee.

This transcript sets out the testimony of

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
during the Hungarian revolution. [redacted] described events leading up to the revolution and Russian duplicity during the revolution. He testified that Russian intervention and occupation of Hungary was to assure communist control in order that Hungary could be used as an advance Soviet base in the event of an attack on Western Europe. General Kiraly also gave testimony regarding coordinated Soviet and satellite war games and the objectives thereof. He furnished back-ground data on [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

b7C

No items necessitating Bureau action noted in testimony.

ACTION:

Photostats are being filed for future reference.

Enclosure

RECORDED - 70

Tickler: Mr. Belmont
Mr. Branigan
Mr. Stacey

INDEXED-53

MAR 1 1957

VTKS:skw
(4)

ENCLOSURE

51 MAR

b7C

A. N. Belmont

Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Boardman

February 20, 1957

W. A. Branigan

Mr. Simpson
Mr. Nichols

b7C

ALEXANDER ORLOV -
[SOURCE OF INFORMATION]
IS-R

RECEIVED BY SP4 elw/pjm
CLASSIFIED BY SP1 mdf/git
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
5/18/84

SYNOPSIS:

On February 14 and 15, 1957, he was a cooperating witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in public session. Photostats of the transcript of his testimony (volumes 87 and 88) have been made. Testimony dealt considerably with generalities and academic topics based on his Soviet intelligence activities and experiences and opinions re present and future world developments. Press articles highlighted his account of personally arranging during the Spanish Civil War transfer to Russia of Spain's gold reserves, 600 tons, and fact that Russia has retained gold to date; and his estimate that 16 Soviet spy rings exist in U. S. Details of testimony in latter regard reflect he said this is based on his experiences up to 1938 and belief that at present there would be one Soviet intelligence chief in the U. S. with six assistants, each of whom would have three assistants, each heading a spy network. He advocated U. S. sponsor U. N. move to force Russia to return Spain's gold. Data re Spain's gold and number of Soviet spy rings previously furnished Bureau. Also opined Soviets could be expected to have sabotage organizations planted in U. S. in event of hostilities. Recommended U. S. adopt policy to induce defection of Soviet agents by promising security, permanent residence and aid in settlement. [redacted] related Soviet intelligence was concerned with influencing decisions of foreign governments. When asked whether he knew of anyone engaged in such activities in U. S. who has not previously been exposed [redacted] expressed reluctance and then said he might furnish name in executive session. It was agreed to hold executive session "at the proper time" to interrogate him in this regard. [redacted] asserted Communist Parties of U. S. and other countries financed by Soviet treasury. Review of [redacted] Bureau file reflects he previously furnished to Bureau substantially same information contained in his testimony with possible exception of (1) data re person not previously exposed who influenced U. S. Government action on Russia's behalf and (2) Soviet financing of USA. (S)(u)

b7C

b7D

b7C

b7D

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

170 MAR 1957
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 5/24/84

cc - 1 - (astland Committee)
cc - 1 - (CP Funds) 100-3-83

Transmitted to Mr. Belmont

Source of Information

105-32869

b7C

b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter be sent to New York requesting [redacted] be interviewed re (1) and (2) above if a review of New York's files reflects he has not previously advised Bureau of this information. It is recommended all names in the attached Photostats of Volumes 87 and 88 be indexed with the exception of the names of [redacted] and committee personnel. (S)(X)(u)

b7D

b7C

DETAILS:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] February 14 and 15, 1957, he was cooperative witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in public session, Washington, D. C. Photostats of the transcript of his testimony (Volumes 87 and 88) have been made. His testimony which is reviewed in summary below dealt considerably with generalities and academic topics including his own Soviet intelligence activities and experiences and opinions re present and future world developments. Press articles highlighted account of personally arranging during Spanish Civil War the transfer to Russia of Spain's gold reserves, 600 tons, and fact that Russia has retained gold to date; his estimate that 16 Soviet spy rings presently exist in U. S. (S)(X)(u)

b7C

b7D

The information contained in [redacted] testimony was previously furnished by him to the Bureau with the exceptions stated herein: (S)(X)(u)

b7C

Volume 87

Pages 4419-4430 deal with information [redacted] furnished concerning [redacted] (Bufile 65-58681) who was involved in the mid 1930's in a Soviet plot to assassinate Leon Trotsky. (u)

b7C

Pages 4430-4442: Here [redacted] discusses his personally arranging during the Spanish Civil War the transfer to Russia of Spain's gold reserves, 600 tons, and the fact that Russia has retained this gold to date. There was a discussion between [redacted] and Senator McClellan as to whether the U. S. Government should formally protest to the U. N. against Russia's retaining the gold.

~~SECRET~~

Memo to Mr. [redacted] Mr. Belmont

Source of Information

105-22869

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Pages 4442-4453 deal with Russia's counterfeiting of U. S. currency in 1939 which resulted in prosecution by the U. S. Government of Gregory Valentine Burton (Bufile 100-262352). The remainder of this volume contains opinions by [redacted] as to the actions of the Communist Parties of Italy, Trieste, Yugoslavia and of the actions of Tito as they may affect Soviet foreign policies in the future.

b7C

Volume 88

The beginning of this volume deals with [redacted] description of the break-down and targets of the Soviet intelligence system and this information is generally academic in nature.

b7C

On page 4400 in discussing Soviet intelligence efforts to influence actions of foreign governments [redacted] recalls that the American Government in the past had experienced the actions of persons highly placed in the U. S. Government who were willing to assist Russia by influencing the policy of the American Government in connection with Germany, China and otherwise. Senator McClellan asked if [redacted] could provide the name of anyone not heretofore exposed who had engaged in such an operation. [redacted] replied "Well, I do not know whether I should give the name of the man." When Senator McClellan asked if [redacted] would give the information in executive session [redacted] replied that he might. Thereupon Senator McClellan arranged with [redacted] to have an executive session "at the proper time" to interrogate [redacted] concerning this matter. [redacted] replied "we will do that as soon as possible." Identity of this man not indicated in Bufile.

(u) (S)

b7C

On pages 4482 and 4483 [redacted] cited the need for U. S. protection of its sensitive installations against sabotage and cited the possibility that the Soviets have already arranged to commit sabotage in the U. S. just prior to the start of hostilities whereby a battalion of men dressed in American uniforms, composed of 90 Russians and 10% American guerrilla fighters who served in Spain could march on a sensitive military installation posing as an American outfit and destroy the installation by sabotage.

b7C

On page 4483 [redacted] discussed what he believed to be the Soviet intelligence setup in the U. S. as of 1938 when he defected. He said this would be true of such large countries as the U. S., France and Britain. There would be a director-president (chief representative of the NKVD) who would have six assistants (Russians) each of whom would have three American assistants from the CIA who would operate individual intelligence networks. [redacted] pointed out that in addition the

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

b7D

105-29889

Source of Information

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

presence of Satellite establishments in the U. S. or another country and representation of Russia at the U. N. in the U. S. would provide further opportunities for operation of Soviet intelligence.

Pages 4490-4496: [] cited existing deterrents to defection of Soviet agents and advocated a firmer U. S. policy to offer inducements to Soviet defections, promising personal security, permanent residence and aid in becoming established in the U. S.

b7C

Pages 4508-4509: [] engaged in an academic discussion of the denigration of Stalin and expressed his belief that despite the current division in the CPUSA it is still loyal to Russia. He stated resolutions passed by the CPUSA are with prior approval of the Kremlin.

(X)

(u)

Pages 4510 and 4511: [] told of Russian financing of its espionage and stated the CPUSA exists on money supplied by the Soviet treasury. If [] has any specific evidence in this regard his file fails to reflect he has previously furnished same to Bureau.

b7C

- 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

2160

HQ-88217

(62-

Serial 2160



62-HQ-88217-E2160

EBF

The United States Senate

Report of Proceedings

Hearing held before

Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the
Internal Security Act and Other Internal
Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

February 19, 1957

Washington, D. C.

WARD & PAUL

1760 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NATIONAL (8-4266
8-4267
8-4268
8-4269

62-88217-2160

ENCLOSURE

C O N T E N T S

TESTIMONY OF

PAGE

General Bela Kirely

4515

Page numbers at which inserts are to be made:

4562

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

- - -

Tuesday, February 19, 1957

United States Senate,
Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration
of the Internal Security Act and Other
Internal Security Laws, of the
Committee on the Judiciary,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:35 o'clock
a.m., in Room 457 Senate Office Building, Senator Olin D.
Johnston presiding.

Present: Senator Johnston (presiding).

Also present: Robert Morris, Chief Counsel; and William
A. Rusher, Associate Counsel.

- - -

Mr. Morris. General, will you stand, please?

Senator Johnston. Will you please raise your right
hand and be sworn.

Do you swear that the evidence you give before this Sub-
committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate will be the
truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you
God?

General Kiraly. I swear.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL BELA KIRALY

Mr. Morris. Give your name and address to the reporter.

General Kiraly. Yes. I am General Bela Kiraly. I am a Major General in the Free Hungarian Army, and Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard established during the Hungarian National Democratic Revolution.

Mr. Morris. May I just ask you a few questions before you begin.

Senator Johnston. Let me ask you a question.

I notice you speak pretty good English. Where did you go to school?

General Kiraly. I learned English in the prison. I was four or five years in prison, and I have time enough to learn the English language.

Senator Johnston. Good.

Mr. Morris. Senator Johnston, this witness is being called today in line with the general purpose of the Internal Security Subcommittee of learning as much as possible about the nature of and the possible duration of the Hungarian uprising, revolution.

The subcommittee has perceived that there has been an effect on the Communist Parties all over the world as a result of the Hungarian revolution, and even on the Party of the United States.

Now, we find, Senator, that the two things are almost

indistinguishable. In order to really understand the nature of the American Communist movement, we must know something about the nature and the possible duration of the Hungarian revolution.

In connection with that, we had a Communist Party convention here last week in New York, and we have now been endeavoring to get some of the principals of that convention here to testify.

For instance, there is a subpoena out for Eugene Dennis. We heard of some connections between Mr. Dennis and the American Communist Party and Moscow, and we are trying to have him come here and we will ask him about that particular cause.

But, as I say, as part of this whole inquiry into the nature of world communism, we have General Kiraly here this morning, and we want to get some of his first-hand experiences. I think he is the ranking military man, ranking Hungarian General, are you not, now?

General Kiraly. Yes.

Mr. Morris. You are.

Now, I notice in yesterday's press that there was a new Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Army, General. His name is Ferenc Ugrai. Now, who was Colonel Ugrai?

General Kiraly. I know him very well. For a short time he was one of my students when I was a professor of military science.

Mr. Morris. You say he was one of your students?

General Kiraly. One of my students.

He was, at the beginning of this twelve-year period in Hungary, a member of the Secret Police of the Army, which you are knowing by the abbreviation of AVH.

Mr. Morris. So, you say, then -- Excuse me -- that Colonel Ugrai was the head of the AVH?

General Kiraly. No; he was not head. He was, in that case, a young man. He was a lieutenant, and afterwards captain, and in this rank he was a member of the Secret Police, and on account of his "merits" he has been appointed in higher ranks. He was sent to Moscow, to military high schools, and returned some years ago.

I was in prison when he returned from there. He became the Chief of Staff of the highest commander of the artillery of the Hungarian Army, and now, as I read also in the newspapers, he became the Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Army.

He was a top Communist, of course, and he had a lot of merits on the Communist line previously.

Senator Johnston. Did Russia have anything to do with his promotion?

General Kiraly. Of course. He is a trustee of the Russians. He was for a long time, for about at least four years, in Moscow, and he was a trustee in Hungary of the Russian Communists, of course.

Mr. Morris. Now, it says that the head of the Political

Department's Major General Pal Ilku

General Kiraly. Yes; I know him also perfectly well.

He is, according to his origin, a Ukrainian. He came to Hungary from so-called Carpathians in Russia, which belongs now to Russia.

Previously, during the two World Wars, between the two World Wars, it belonged to Czechoslovakia. From that part he takes his origin, so he is Ukrainian, a very old member of the Communist movement.

Mr. Morris. You say a very good member of the Communist movement? Did you say a very good member of the Communist movement?

General Kiraly. From the Communist viewpoint; an old member, I said; yes.

And after World War Second, he was a top man in the youth movement in Hungary, the Communist youth movement in Hungary. In 1948 he was brought into the Army in the rank of colonel, and became one of the deputies of the Political Department's chief.

Then he has been sent to Moscow, to five years' education, and during this revolutionary movement, the National Democratic Revolutionary movement, he was in Moscow and he played a very suspicious role, because when all the officers being in the Soviet Union Military Schools decided to go home and see what is happening, the Muscovites hold five high-ranking officers

there in Moscow, and they were in negotiation with the Russian Home Defense Ministry, and only sent back to Hungary on the 2nd of November.

One of this group was Pal Ilku, who has been sent on the 2nd or 3rd of November back to Hungary to play a role, taking the revolution -- a part in it. He was one of the first men who supported this Kadar regime on a military basis. He is also a trustee of the Russians.

Mr. Morris. A trustee, you say?

General Kiraly. Trustee.

Mr. Morris. Senator, this is very short. It is just two paragraphs. May I read this Associated Press release?

Senator Johnston. You may read it.

Mr. Morris (reading):

"Budapest, February 17. Hungary's Army, riddled by desertions during the revolt, is to come under tight Communist Party control, the high command announced today.

"The new chief of staff is Colonel Ferenc Ugrai. Head of the political department is a Major General, Pal Ilku, who was quoted today as saying: 'Party organizations in the Army will in future have a voice in operational planning.'

"Only a few of Hungary's 170,000 Russian-trained and equipped troops are believed to remain under the colors. They are mostly militia, on police duties.

"The Communist trade union newspaper, Nepakartat, charged

today that nothing like the total aid promised by the U.S. and the International Red Cross' had reached Hungary. It said more aid had come from the satellites."

Now, does this change in command that was announced on the 17th of February in Budapest, does that indicate to you the nature of the control exercised by the Soviets over the Hungarian Army?

General Kiraly. Completely. I was aware of this even when the Kadar regime began its rule over Hungary, that it is only a puppet regime of the Soviet Union.

They will act according to the commands of the Muscovites and to subdue completely, to annihilate completely, the wish of freedom of the Hungarian people.

They will act according to the Stalinist system. I am completely convinced that if they will be allowed, they will act according to the Stalin systems. It means that the suppression and exploitation of the Hungarian people will grow and grow, without any limit, if the Russians will have complete free hand in the future, in Hungary.

Senator Johnston. So Russians are taking complete control of the military and police in order to subdue the Hungarians; is that right?

General Kiraly. Completely it is so, yes.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, this witness has testified before the United Nations Special Committee in New York, and

In going over his testimony today we plan, as much as possible, to avoid a repetition of anything there, because his testimony there will be accessible to us. We want to make our own record on this.

(2)

However, there is one thing that the committee has learned, Senator, that these hearings that the Special Committee of the United Nations is holding are now being held only in executive session.

Do you know that, that witnesses now being called are not being called in public, the witnesses called by the United Nations Special Committee in New York?

General Kiraly. Yes. The hearings of the witnesses are in a secret session. It is continuously held. Almost everyday they hear witnesses, but completely secretly.

Senator Johnston. We are giving to them all the information that we receive concerning the Hungarians?

Mr. Morris. That is right.

Senator Johnston. Are they giving to us all that they receive?

Mr. Morris. It may be, Senator. We have asked for certain things, and not only recently. Now, I will be able to answer that question next week, to what extent the testimony they are taking will be available to us.

Senator Johnston. I personally think it would be helpful if we cooperated with them, but we also should have their

cooperation with us.

Mr. Morris. Very good, Senator. I will carry out your wishes.

General Kiraly. We feel very grateful for this help to our case, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Morris. Now, General Kiraly, you took part in war games, did you not, or staff war exercises, when you were in the Hungarian Army?

General Kiraly. Yes.

I was arrested in 1951, August 17.

Mr. Morris. August 17, 1951.

Now, before you were arrested --

General Kiraly. Before this I took part myself in war games, in Hungary, of course.

Mr. Morris. Tell us about those war games you took part in.

General Kiraly. Yes.

In 1951, in the springtime, there were war games in Hungary, and, in general, the war games of an army always project whatever this army wants to act in war times.

Now, and even during this even war game in 1951, in the spring, the Home Defense Ministry, the top Communist, Farkas, declared that all those high commanders who are participating in these war games must very much take care of what is happening here, because this war game is not a play but a real pro-

jection of whatever the Hungarian Army, with the Russians, wants to make.

And in 1951 the aims, the purpose of the attack that was organized, was what this arrow shows (indicating). It is the Hungarian front here, this little point here. The Hungarian Army was gathered in this area within the Dunapentelle River, and the aims, the purpose of this attack, was to cross the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier, to attack through the big cities in Yugoslavia, to cross the Danube River, which he has here, and occupy a mountain chain through Fruska Gora.

It was the task of the Hungarian Army to make a very big so-called military bridgehead for the Russian Army, which wanted to enlarge this bridgehead, and to attack to the source of the Asiatic Sea, and by continuing this, of course, to invade Western Europe.

It was the first game in which I personally partook.

At this time there was great tension between the Soviet Party and the Yugoslavians, and therefore it was very clear that they wanted to attack. It was -- later on, in 1953, there was another very important war game in Hungary, led also by Home Defense Minister Farkas.

Mr. Morris. Will you spell that name for us, please?

General Kiraly. Home Defense Minister Farkas. His last name is F-a-r-k-a-s; his first name M-i-h-a-l-y.

Of course, he was not a military expert. He was a top

Communist and had a very high rank, and whatever he did, whatever he told, was whispered in his ear by the so-called chief advisor of Russia, who sits always by the side of him and whispered in his ear what to say.

Mr. Morris. Who was he, the chief advisor?

General Kiraly. General Lieutenant Bojao.

This war game was most important than what I told up to now. It was an attempt toward Rijeka. It is on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, and it is very curious because this great attempt led through the so-called Ljubljana Gate. It is a strategical gate in this area (indicating), and it is a gate such as a gate between the Po Plain and Central Europe.

This war game, this attack has been led through this Ljubljana Gate, and just in this area there is very great agitation from behind the Iron Curtain, out of which everybody, who carefully reads newspapers, was able to find out how the Russians are mixing together strategical aims with political agitation.

In that time they accented very much how great a role has the Italian and the French Communist Party, even in these strategical purposes and plans of the Soviet Russia. They count on a great strike in Italy, with a great strike in France, led by these two Communist Parties when war would have commenced, and by these great strides in Italy and France they wanted to paralyze the mobilization of these two principal Western parts,

you know, and in the meanwhile Russia --

Mr. Morris. Just a minute. What was that word?

General Kiraly. Paralyze.

Mr. Morris. In other words, as part of these war games, there would be as a supporting gesture for paralyzing strikes by Italian Communist Party and the French Communist Party, in concert with this maneuver, and that was part of the war game?

General Kiraly. Yes. To paralyze the mobilization, and the moving armies, the NATO armies in Italy and in France, and during these strikes they wanted to run in through this very important strategical gate, the Ljubljana gate, and have so great an advance which, if the strikes later on will cease, would not have been contrabanced by the Western powers.

This war game is very important and very characteristic how the Russians, how the Communists are exploiting the Western Communist Parties, not only in political reasons and causes but even in strategical ones.

Mr. Morris. Now, General Kiraly, there were also war exercises involving the general staffs of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, all under the personal command of Marshal Zhukov, were there not, at some later time?

General Kiraly. Two such great maneuvers occurred, one in 1955, early autumn time, and the other in 1956, springtime. Both of these have been led by Marshal Zhukov, the Home Defense Minister of Russia.

Mr. Morris. Can you tell us what you know about those particular exercises and how you came to know what you do know about them?

General Kiraly. Yes.

In that time I was in prison and, therefore, I myself do not partake in these, but when, in last September, I was released from the prison --

Mr. Morris. When were you released from prison?

General Kiraly. September, last year.

Mr. Morris. One month before the October 23 revolution?

General Kiraly. Yes.

During these months after my release, and before October 23, when I had been released --

Mr. Morris. When you were released from prison, did you revert back to your military rank of General?

General Kiraly. No. I had been bereft of all my rank and my position, and only the university youths called me to lead them as commander-in-chief of the Freedom Fighters, and only afterwards when the university youth and other fighting groups allotted me as the commander-in-chief of them, the Government accepted me afterwards and rehabilitated me and gave back my rank.

(3) So, I acted for some days in the Freedom Fight without any rank, of course, only appointment of the Freedom Fighters and only afterwards the Government accepted me also and gave back

my rank.

Mr. Morris. Now, General, will you tell us what you did know about these military games in 1955 and 1956, which you say were directed by General Zhukov?

General Kiraly. Yes.

In both military maneuvers the general staffs of all the European satellites took part. All the Home Defense Ministries of these European satellites personally took part in these war maneuvers.

The first has been carried out in Carpathian Russia, in the inside of the Carpathian Mountain chain, which territorially belonged between the two World Wars to Czechoslovakia.

The second which has been carried out in 1956 has been held in the Ukraine, in the western Ukraine, near to Polish border, and to the Czechoslovakian border. It was the most interesting, this maneuver, which has been held in 1956. The situation was constructed so that the Western powers had defended themselves, even the fundamental supposition has been constructed that the Eastern part was that which attacked the Western part.

In these war games the Western part played a role in defense.

Now, the Western part have a contraattack against the Russians, and then the Russians annihilated this defensive counterattack and began a hideous attack against the Western

parties.

This war game was very curiously organized. Both parts of the fighters have been represented. The most part of the satellites, of course, played the role of the Warsaw Pact, the Warsaw Pact Army, and it is a funny thing of history that the Hungarians have been appointed to play the role of the Western part, and not only in general the Western part but it was very curious that the Hungarian Army played the role of the American Army itself. It was a funny of history, so to say.

In general, this maneuver was held in the spirit of an attack against the West. When they finished this maneuver, Zhukov, Marshal Zhukov, had delivered a speech about the experiences of this maneuver and about this general situation of the Red Army.

Mr. Morris. What did he say at that time?

General Kiraly. He told that in the first case, the Russian Army is obsolete concerning the mechanization and motorization. The Russian Army must do very urgent effort to make the Russian Army in this respect a completely modern one. Therefore --

Mr. Morris. The first point, General, is that Zhukov told the assembled staff officers that the Russian Army, based on its war games -- this is the 1955 war games, or was it 1956?

General Kiraly. 1956.

Mr. Morris. -- was obsolete, and was in urgent need of

modernization?

General Kiraly. Obsolete concerning the mechanization and motorization. Only this point, he pointed out. In these two respects it is obsolete by the declaration of Zhukov.

They were by great effort supply this defect, and they will modernize the Russian Army concerning its mechanization and mobilization.

The second point he told, to lead big mechanized and mobilized army groups, it is a special sector of the military science, and in this respect a lot of the Russian generals are not skilled enough and a lot of the Russian generals do not do their best to have enough capability to lead such great mechanized groups; a lot of the Soviet generals are living out of their merits in the second World War. They think that to be the hero of the Soviet Union it is fully enough for the end of their life, but Zhukov declared that if these persons, even being heroes of the Soviet Union, will be kicked out -- excuse me for this slang -- kicked out of the army, if they will not get enough skill and capability to be able to lead such great mechanized groups.

And the third, what he declared was that the Russian Army is obliged to study the atomic warfare and make the Russian Army capable to exist and act among the circumstances of an atomic war.

These three points I know out of his declaration.

Senator Johnston. In other words, he was calling to the attention of the people that the need of the Russian Army was mechanized and mobilized armies. They were behind in that field; is that right?

General Kiraly. Yes.

He declared that it is obsolete in these two respects, and immediately added that they will do their best to make in this respect modern the Russian Army.

Mr. Morris. Now, how did you come to learn this, General? Not only these particular war games, the early ones, but --

General Kiraly. I had a month after my release, and before the commencement of the National Democratic Revolution and Freedom Fight of Hungary. During these months I met a lot of soldiers and other people with whom I was in connection before my rest.

A lot of high ranking soldiers considered something will happen, and being opportunists, began to advise me and give me a lot of information about the army, and I talked to two persons who partook in these military maneuvers. It is the source where from I know anything about it.

Mr. Morris. Thank you, General.

Now, you have prepared a statement, have you not, General?

General Kiraly. Yes, I have.

Mr. Morris. Senator Johnston, the witness has prepared a summation. It will take about thirty minutes, thirty-five

minutes, to read it, and I wonder if we might receive this statement of his case as facts to be known by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Senator Johnston. I think it would be well for you to give that to the committee.

Go ahead and read it.

General Kiraly. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Senate, Judge Robert Morris:

I am deeply thankful for this committee's interest in the true nature of the Hungarian National Democratic Revolution and in the welfare of the Freedom Fighters.

It is a great event in my life to be meeting with this high body of the U. S. Congress. We consider the U. S. Congress always the real embodiment and representation of the ideals of America's people. Just these ideals and their realization were what we wanted to establish in Hungary during our National Democratic Revolution and Freedom Fight.

We know that the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 was the very first event in the history of humanity where the assurance of human rights was codified and, with it, the age of modern democracy commenced. Since this day the Congress of the USA has, fully and without any breach, represented the real and sincere democracy and the highest ideals of humanity. Just, therefore, all the people of the globe who like liberty look with sympathy, honor, and trust towards this high body in

which I am appearing.

Therefore, I feel myself compelled to tell you whatever I know about the Hungarian National Democratic Revolution and Freedom Fight in order to add data for you. Because we Hungarians are aware of and proud of your interest in our case, I know you already know a lot about our Freedom Fight.

As a soldier, I shall try to limit myself to those important events which have tragically influenced the outcome of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence.

I do not think it necessary to tell you in detail what happened in my country, because you know very well that the Hungarian people made a desperate effort to shake off the rule of a foreign power.

The people had no constitutions, democratic way of bringing about a change, because the regime imposed on them was a so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" -- a one-Party system, police terror, and Communist government. Every free expression of public opinion, the organization of parties, and all forms of free assembly were not only forbidden but punished by heavy penalties.

In the darkest times of this Communist terror, in the years when Stalin's Hungarian proconsul Matyas Rakosi ruled, even the Communists' own comrades were not trusted, and one after another they were liquidated.

Together with many other Hungarian patriots, I was jailed